

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

MAY, 1846.

ART. I.—COQUEREL'S SERMONS.*

M. ATHANASE COQUEREL has been known for many years as one of the most eloquent preachers in Paris. He belongs to the body of the Pastors of the Reformed Church, by whose arrangements, if we rightly understand them, the different preachers preach successively in the different churches, so that each in turn addresses every Reformed congregation in the city. M. Coquerel graduated at Montauban in 1816; in 1818 he assumed the pastoral charge of the Reformed church in Amsterdam, and in 1830 was called to Paris.†

Those of his sermons which have been printed, have been published, separately or in collections, at different periods since 1818. Within four or five years past, M. Coquerel has found himself engaged in a controversy of pamphlets with different theologians and laymen in France, which has added some other essays to those which were written for

* *Sermons.* Par ATHANASE COQUEREL, l'un des Pasteurs de l'Eglise R formée de Paris. Quatre Recueils. Amsterdam and Paris. 1818 — 1843. 3 Vols. 8vo. pp. 564, 478, 480.

† See Christ. Exam. for Nov. 1844. IVth Ser. Vol. II. pp. 303, 304.

the pulpit. He has also published some elementary, and other theological Essays, besides a larger volume of great merit — “*Biographie Sacrée.*” The controversy of which we speak, sprang up in consequence of an effort to set off M. Coquerel and other preachers from the body of the Reformed clergy endowed by the State, on the ground that they did not hold to the doctrines of the Reformed Church. It was perfectly true, that in his views, and we suppose, those of other preachers accused like him, of whom there were four or five in Paris, there is a constant protest against the use of religious formulas, or the imposition of the restraint of creeds upon the conscience of the believer. The whole tone of his preaching is warmly and enthusiastically evangelical, and at the same time, and for that reason, warmly and enthusiastically liberal and benevolent. There is no question that he himself, and we suppose the gentlemen who were accused with him, had no faith in some of the best beloved dogmas of Calvin, and that the theology which he enforced in the pulpit, and the practical lessons he drew from it, were such as never could have been uttered by a Calvinistic preacher. The efforts made by a Calvinistic association to oust him and his friends from their position were systematic, though at first somewhat stealthy. They did not fail to defend themselves, and the rights of liberal inquiry, before the public and the Government. The pamphlets prepared by M. Coquerel and his friends were written with great eloquence, — some of them involving the mere question of the rights of free preaching and free religion, while others discussed boldly and clearly, to our minds very satisfactorily, the theological opinions which were at issue. These pamphlets are an earnest and very convincing statement of the spirit, the power, and the necessity of Christianity without cant or creed, — the definition, if we understand it, of what is called Unitarianism in America, of what M. Coquerel, in some of his sermons and pamphlets, calls “*Modern Orthodoxy.*” The friends of Christian freedom triumphed in the issue which we have described, and the Government endowments are now distributed just as they were. The only effect, so far as we know, produced by the discussion, has been to divert to the theological questions at issue more general attention, and to enlarge the audiences of the Unitarian preachers.

We speak with pleasure of the Sermons before us, which are scarcely ever of a controversial bearing or tone. They exhibit M. Coquerel's earnest enthusiasm and fervor in the more congenial labors of arousing Christian life, and tracing practical lessons from the Scriptures. We think them a remarkable collection. The style, of course, varies somewhat between the earlier and later sermons; and the latest bear most decided marks of maturity, — they are less ornate, less French perhaps we might say, than the earliest. All of them are marked strongly with the attention to rhetorical effect, which is characteristic of the French pulpit. But there is not one of them, where true fervor and devotion do not show themselves beneath and behind all graces of language and style. M. Coquerel's faith is of the warmest and most hopeful kind. He looks firmly, steadily at sin or temptation, and demonstrates calmly and clearly that they must give way before Christian faith. His philosophy and his ethics and his statesmanship show everywhere this foundation on which they rest. An eager student of the Old Testament, with almost a poet's power to revivify its narratives and bring before our eyes the movements of its heroes, he is still so imbued with his simply Christian enthusiasm, that he does not deceive himself for a moment into an exaggerated statement of Jewish faith, Jewish philosophy, or Jewish morals. The connection between the two "Alliances," the Old and the New, is a matter clear to his understanding; and he constantly recurs to it, with a distinctness of ideas which does credit to his good sense as a theologian and his Christian confidence and fervor.

"No manner of studying the sacred Scriptures," says he, "is more instructive perhaps, or more useful, than those wide and long comparisons, where we contrast the two Covenants in their books, doctrines, and rites, and even in the character of the divine messengers to whom the world owes them, or of the just who have obeyed, or of the bad who have violated them. Thus we study the two revelations at once; we can distinguish without separating them, — can bring them together without confounding them; each lends and borrows light, so to speak, and is the clearer for it. * * * * * Each of them has the splendor which it should have, each its own character, spirit, beauty, and sacredness. Such profound differences were at once necessary and desirable. The periods were different; — look at the sacred annals, and see if the age of Abraham, or that of

Moses or David or Ezra, resembles that of Jesus. The designs were different; — the old Covenant, which was to endure only through a certain time and to fill a certain place, was fitted only for the climate of Judea, her state of manners, of liberty, and civilization; it is the porch, the vestibule, and not the building; it is the court-yard, but not the sanctuary. In a word, the old Covenant was addressed only to Jews, was made only for them and the few proselytes whom it almost regretted to receive; the Gospel addresses itself to all men, its empire is the world, and it is so framed as to adapt itself wherever the sun shines, or men breathe the air.

“A single objection to such comparison deserves a word of answer. ‘Who are we,’ it may be asked, ‘that we should thus weigh in a balance the Old and New Testament, to pronounce upon their merits, to compare their virtues, to decide which is the more sacred, the more efficacious, the more consolatory, and to give the preference to the Gospel over the Law.’ Who are we, my brethren? I will tell you. We are Christians; — and precisely because the Gospel is the complement and development of the old Covenant, it should be its superior.” — *Quatrième Recueil*. pp. 356 – 360.

The enthusiastic fervor of sentiment of which we speak gives life to discussions on a wide variety of topics. There is scarcely an ethical subject, even among what we choose to call the minor morals, to which he does not allude, always with a nice dissection of appearances, and a distinct exposition of the principle which is to be applied to them.

Such we conceive to be the prominent characteristics of the sermons. Their theology indeed is careful and well-sustained, but their fervor and clearness give to them the interest by which they attract the favor they receive. They are impassioned in language, but there is very little exaggeration. Warm rhetorical appeals are addressed, not to imaginary creatures, but to the men and women of Amsterdam or Paris, who are listening to the preacher. Descriptions of the death of Jonathan, the crimes of Ahab, the mourning for Abijah, decorated with whatever accuracy of ornament or pathos, speak to the listener of the nineteenth century with lessons for his own life and his own time. The singular variety of subjects adds to this vividness an effect, which must in almost all instances have absolutely commanded the attention of the hearer. This variety, ranging over every class of subjects of theology or of practical life, is much greater than the variety of treatment. The

sermons, when read as a series, become monotonous; their French vivacity at times palls upon us, and the last read is by no means so effective as the first. This difficulty results naturally from using them in a connection different from that for which they were intended.

We had prepared ourselves to go into some little discussion of the peculiarities of French preaching, but our readers would hardly thank us for it. Its faults are not so prominent in these sermons as in most French sermons; and we suppose that the Protestant pulpit is everywhere improving, by an abandonment of merely national habits. There is something of the rigidity of division, the oratorical formality, and the quaintness of expression, which have often given us a distaste to French pulpit oratory. Occasionally a long prayer is introduced into the discourse. But these peculiarities are scarcely so strongly marked as to attract attention. Were they much more striking, the sermons would still be earnest, devout, inspiring statements and illustrations of religious truth, well rewarding careful study, and well worthy a place in the closet library of serious Christians.

M. Coquerel's mind has been trained, it would seem, under the tendencies of the present French system of liberal education. The French colleges appear to devote some attention to every branch of study which has attracted the notice of modern inquirers. There are not so many classical students in France now, as there were seventy years ago, — and the reason for this probably is, that there is so much attention paid to modern languages and modern sciences. Such mental training gives to a preacher in M. Coquerel's position some decided advantages. He is perfectly at home in his allusions to the physical science of the present day; and in his frequent comments on the insufficiency of mere intellectual philosophy to cheer the life or save the soul of man, you feel that he is not speaking at random, without a personal knowledge of its efforts and its tendencies. Such general information is the more needed, because, as the whole tenor of the discourses shows, even when they are on subjects which differ widely from each other, the preacher turns with most earnestness and most frequently to combat the scientific irreligion of France. He evidently fears infidelity more than bigotry or superstition.

He has left controversy with Calvinists and Romanists to his controversial pamphlets ; while, like Solomon, he combats "those who are able to know so much as to aim at the world," — constantly asking them, "why they do not sooner find out the Lord thereof?" Such questioning, such contests, make but a sorry display of Christian strength, when they come from men who do not thoroughly know with what they are contending. Nothing is more mournful, than to hear in a Christian sermon or Christian argument an allusion of any kind to what is called profane science, which the speaker himself does not comprehend. A mere figure of speech, which betrays any ignorance of the field of learning from which it is drawn, would always be much better avoided than ventured ; for the slightest shadow over its accuracy suggests that it owes its position only to a wish for brilliancy. So far as we have seen, M. Coquerel is able to allude to physical science without paining his hearers with impossible astronomy or monstrous chemistry ; certainly he speaks of intellectual systems with the clearness of a man who has tested them and knows their strength. He does not crush geology, to uphold the book of Genesis ; for he knows what geology is. He does not fly in the face of political economy without knowing what political economy is. And when he dissects a metaphysical or logical system, he shows, in the clearness of his own views and arguments, that he knows how far to use mental and dialectic training.

The power gained from such wide and general information gives a peculiar raciness and freshness to the tone of these writings. Eminently evangelical, as we have said, and exhibiting to the full that careful study of revelation, which seeks from its earliest and most obscure voices the training by which it shall be prepared to interpret the later and the most clear, M. Coquerel's eloquence is still the eloquence of the nineteenth century. This man, at least, says the hearer, is not giving to us what the world has outgrown.

Such a man has a right to draw such contrasts as are presented in this passage.

"But misery, alas, is often misconduct, and more often improvidence. * * * This remark, which is confirmed by so wide experience of these two most frequent aspects of misery, is

the proof, that humanity will never be able to give what they need to all the members of the great family, until it works with the hands of Christian charity. For such effort all other social forces are insufficient.

"The hand of human justice is too heavy to soothe such sensitive wounds, — she only thinks of public disorders. What we need is a care of private disorders, and when justice attempts to give to poverty what it needs, she changes its name and calls it mendicity.

"And statesmanship, civil government, has too much to do in taking care of the masses to be able to look at families or individuals. The tie which binds the citizen to the government naturally enough excites more interest in its counsels, than the tie of associated brotherhood.

"Philosophy lives too much in the sphere of abstractions, to attack successfully so many realities all heaped together; it is too much occupied with the general system of the world as it should be, to take up and care for the details of society as it is.

"Civilization knows how to disguise the evil, and keep it at a distance, but is not so skilful in curing it. Civilization begins by marking the wide distinctions between the refinements of superfluity and the simplicities of necessity, and carries this process so far that she will never consent to condemn them.

"And lastly, the youngest of sciences, this political economy, which has failed so utterly to fulfil the seductive promises of its first labors, has not yet decided on the secret of the production of public wealth. How can it teach us then the means of enriching the poor?

"Do not doubt it, my brethren, it is for charity, for this, the most excellent of all virtues, — which the world owes to Jesus, and of which Jesus first gave the perfect rule and true model, — it is for Christian charity that God reserves this glory and this joy. Charity only will have the necessary power, the necessary patience, the necessary compassion; charity only will never stop till she has gained the mark; charity only will put an end to misery, and her voice alone will say to the rich, 'Enjoy your abundance, but in giving us the crumbs which fall from your table, see that there are crumbs enough;' and to the poor, in multiplying for them these crumbs like the five loaves in the desert, her voice will say, 'Here is the supply for your necessities.'" — *Quatrième Recueil.* pp. 400 – 404.

The precision of detail gives their force to such passages as the following.

"As the naturalist, who sees everywhere around him the traces of a great physical convulsion, so I, when I see around me everywhere the results of a great moral change, wish to trace

them back to the day and place which saw their birth. Where is the man, who in sight of the whole brilliancy of day, and the glory of the sun illuminating his immense empire, would not wish to see the uncertain dawn which precedes such splendor, and the luminary which causes it at the moment when it mounts into the skies?

"I know that this highly civilized continent, which has made the rest of the world tributary to its power and its arts, once saw its nations seeking their gods in temples where they were thought to live, or beneath the dark vaults of forests, or in the clouds which floated over their heads. Christianity is now established in those very same places. In those very same places the name of Jesus is adored. True, I see divisions and errors, but from day to day these pass away, and the very importance which is attached to such discussions is a testimony of the importance of the Gospel which they discuss. I see each nation reading this Gospel in its own language, and this divine book spread everywhere among the poor of all people. I travel back, upon the course of events. I pass in review the series of the ages. I call upon the past to explain to me the position of the present. On my way, there are some prominent points where I pause. I admire the noble labors of those courageous Reformers who restored its original purity to Christianity. Beyond their time, I scarcely recognise Christianity, so disfigured is it by strange innovations; human ideas are mingled closely with divine institutions, and I meet man everywhere where I should have found God alone. I respect the ill-fated zeal of those who before our time have protested against such deplorable combination. I traverse terror-struck those ages of darkness, where ignorance associates with barbarism, where superstition and fanaticism assume the name, the power and the rights of religion. But after I pass this long night, the horizon is gradually enlightened; I see the last altars of Paganism falling, I see the sceptre of the Empire prostrate before the cross of the Gospel; I review those terrible persecutions which could not shake the constancy of the Christians; I hear one of their most eloquent defenders say to their enemies, 'We are of yesterday, and already we fill the town, the country, the camp, the Senate, and the palace; we leave you nothing but your temples.' In search of the place which saw the beginning of a worship that has been so rapid in its triumphs, I go farther back towards the epoch of its origin. My course leads me to ancient Judea. Even then I find these Christians everywhere as I go. But I do not recognise the kingdom or the people of the Davids and the Solomons, I see no longer the pomp of the worship of Moses, the glory of the Eternal has no visible resting-place in this condemned nation. I ask for the magnificent temple, which even

Heathen travellers thought a wonder of the world, and men direct me to its smoking ruins; the name of Jehovah is not repeated above the pile; I am told that a prophecy has been fulfilled, that the second temple has mingled its ruins with the ruins of the first. I find Christians where I looked for Jews. I seek for the ministers who have taught this conquering faith;—they are tax-gatherers, fishermen and tent-makers. I seek the Master who taught them;—they bid me ascend Calvary, and show to me a cross. I wish at least to visit the place of his birth, to imagine myself present in the first hours of his life, to enrol the number of his first adorers;—I am led to Bethlehem. I seek him who is acknowledged the Son of God and the Saviour of the world, I seek the first worshippers of him before whom angels worship, the first resting-place of him whose empire is the universe, the point from which the Gospel starts which is to extend to the ends of the world;—I am led to Bethlehem,—I find an infant in a manger and a few shepherds clustered around him.” — *1er. et 2e Recueils*. pp. 69–71.

The elaborate accuracy of painting which distinguishes many descriptive passages in these Sermons, and leads to the multiplication of such passages, is not to be spoken of simply as a luxury of style. It seems to result rather from the intense fervency of the writer's disposition, stimulating him to look at every detail in the light of the principle which he is illustrating, and making clear to him trifles which a cooler head would have neglected. An enthusiastic botanist describes not only the lofty tree, but the parasites and epiphytes and lichens which are upon it. It is not mere accuracy of mind which suggests such precision of description, but his intense interest in the living principle which animates each plant. The keen-sighted observation which springs from such fervency ought not be ridiculed or slighted as petty; although it should often descend into a minuteness of detail, which needs the full force of such justification to excuse it.

There is a nicety in the practical application to daily life of moral principles, illustrated in these discourses, which constantly evinces the action of this earnest fervency. The same confidence animates the preacher in his views of social, fashionable, or family institutions and habits around him, as in his view of physical science or of philosophy. And hence there is a vividness and reality in the purely moral exhortations of the discourses, which must have given to them a remarkable force when delivered from the

pulpit. The whole series abounds in brilliant pictures. Every social change described or contemplated, every historical incident mentioned or illustrated, is acted out before the eye of the reader. A brilliant imagination, and the fervency of which we speak, give to these pictures their startling reality, much more often than the detail which we have been excusing, which is occasionally wearisome. In his references to history, which are frequent and careful, these traits supply the deficiencies which he justly ascribes to written history.

"History cannot tell us of particular and private fortunes. These are lost in her wide survey; she has no concern with domestic happiness. The victory which is described on a single page, and excites our admiration to-day, cost, in its time, the tears of thousands of families; and the descendants of conquerors, in remembering their trophies, forget the distresses and mourning which they occasioned. History leads us through palaces, temples, senates and councils, — we can see the whole of public life; but she cannot open to us the interior of the more humble houses where mediocrity lives, nor the workshops of industry, nor the cottages of agriculture, nor the asylums of poverty. We should knock there, if we would know whether another age was more unhappy or more prosperous than our own." — *1er et 2e Recueils.* p. 270, 271

A lively imagination, assisted by a clear appreciation of the force of spiritual influences, fills up such blanks in history. Take as an instance the passage in the Sermon on the dangers of large cities, where from allusions to life in Amsterdam he makes out his picture of life in Jerusalem, — a transfer which is too well maintained to suggest or provoke a smile.

"True, ages pass away, prejudices die out, manners change, cities perish, nations disappear or are dispersed over the earth, and new cities are built up in turn. But that which neither perishes nor changes, which remains the same in every climate and age, is the human heart. It matters little under what excuse we sin. It matters little why we waste our time. It matters little which vanity is preferred by the conceit of the moment. There is still sin, neglect, or conceit; and, at the bottom of his heart, a Pharisee was puffed up in exactly the same way as we are. Let us not deceive ourselves: — our ears indeed will never hear the sudden, piercing shouts of 'Hosanna to the Son of David,' we shall never see Jesus coming to us as Jerusalem saw him one day, — and only one day; and yet

there are around us the same causes which bade them ask, 'Who is this?' We in our way may be misconceiving Christ, as did the Jews in theirs. Do you think that in the crowd which ran before him there were none who said to themselves at the moment when he did wrong, 'No one will see this?' Do you think there was no cunning worldling, who took advantage of the tumult of a great town to appear pure in public while he was a sensualist at home? Do you think that in that crowd there was no man of leisure, who scattered his ennui from house to house, thought himself of great use and very busy when he sat with the Sanhedrim or at the disputes of the Scribes, and threw away upon nothings the time which God had given him that he might study His oracles, and find out who this Jesus was? Do you think that in this crowd there was no Jew, proud that he lived in Jerusalem, proud of worshipping God in this magnificent temple, and not in a provincial synagogue, and who, as his only reason for not believing in Jesus, constantly said, 'Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?' What! in this solemn moment, when Jesus comes to take possession of the temple, when his reign begins, these Jews of Jerusalem do not recognise him! What then have they been doing while the Christ has filled Judea with his teachings, his benefits and his miracles, while all Jerusalem has been ringing with the tale of the resurrection of Lazarus? I answer from a judgment of the human heart. Some were doing wrong in secret,—some were doing nothing,—others were glorifying themselves; and the Christ comes, and they do not adore him. They say to each other, 'Who is this?' And this phrase prepares them to cry a few days after, 'Crucify him! crucify him!'"

"And we, my brethren, who worship in a temple which is dear to us, we who are attached by so many noble recollections to the city of our home, we who live in the Jerusalem of our country, if it were possible that some day Jesus should suddenly enter our walls,—how should we be occupied? Should we be ready to receive him? Should we be sure to recognise him? 'Recognise him!' you will say to me,—'and who of us has not the knowledge of Christ? From our infancy, his name has sounded on our ears, we have grown old repeating it, and we shall not now forget it.' Brethren, it is true that the name of Jesus is now heard everywhere and read everywhere; but is he always in our hearts as he should be? See to that! For men often think they know Jesus, when they only know his name; they think they remember him, when unconsciously they have forgotten him. Lost in the crowd of this vast city, if we are faithful here and faithless there, is that to know the Lord? No; it is to forget that he is everywhere.

Occupied every day with the frivolities of the world, if we lose in doing nothing the time which is left to us before death, is that to know the Lord? No; it is to forget that he demands from us an account of every moment of life. Proud in the perishable advantages which surround us, if vanity under any pretext enter our hearts, is that to know the Lord? No; it is to forget that he resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble." — 1er et 2e Recueils. pp. 185 - 187.

We cannot close this notice of a collection which has given us great pleasure, without expressing the wish that more general attention were paid to the sermons and other practical results of Continental theological study. We believe that some of these discourses have been put to a very proper use, and published more widely than others, in translations delivered from the pulpit. But they might be read and studied more generally than by the clergy. Every other child is taught now to read French, and yet the language when attained is only half used, if used at all. Why is it, that the Christian Church of New England, or of America, should be so ignorant as it is, of the hopes and fears, the thoughts and struggles and exhortations, of people and pastors of the hundreds of thousands of European churches, where also are anxious hearts and living souls? Everything is to be gained from a comparison of national tastes and habits of thought. The mere change of language is no trifle. An illustration might be drawn from the coldness with which habit makes us receive such tremendous words as those which express the very foundation-principles of our religion, as repentance, reformation, sanctification, communion, salvation. That coldness vanishes in the study of the Bible, or its comments, in a less familiar language. The term, for instance, of which our translations above have reminded us, with which the French preacher speaks of the new Covenant, has a warmer tone than ours. "La Nouvelle Alliance" does not suggest a bargain or a contract; it bears to the English ear, not yet habituated to the sound, the remembrance of the bond which unites the children to their Father; it speaks of the family union which the first heir has revealed to us, on the comprehension of which he built the church of his united brethren.

E. E. H.

ART. II.—VESTIGES OF CREATION AND SEQUEL.*

"OF natural philosophy," says Bacon, "the basis is natural history; the stage next the basis is physic; the stage next the vertical point is metaphysic. To those who refer all things to the glory of God, they are as the three acclamations, 'sancte, sancte, sancte:' holy in description of his works; holy in the connexion; and holy in the union of them in a *perpetual and uniform law*." This is one of those noble expressions, by which the higher order of scientific minds have sought to give dignity to their field of labor, and to show its connexion with the infinite domain of truth.

Keeping this thought in view, we have taken up the volume, whose title has already become familiar to every reader. The appearance of a "Sequel," in which its statements are deliberately repeated and justified, gives us an opportunity to take our part in the discussion, which now, for a year or more, has been carried on by the most elaborate articles from the ablest pens. We do not, of course, pretend to enter the lists with men of high and acknowledged authority in the various branches of science; but some reflections, bearing upon the general topic under consideration, may not be inappropriate at the present stage of the debate.

The importance of the "Vestiges," as we regard it, consists not in its literary execution or its scientific depth, both of which have been singularly overrated on the one hand, and disparaged on the other. Neither is it in the singular and startling character which the author's hypothesis bears to many minds. To us this theory of "the development of life on our planet" is no new and strange suggestion; but one which we had encountered before we had seen this book, in discussion with intelligent men of ordinary scientific acquirements, and which, in some of its details, had

* 1. *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*. Second Edition, from the third London edition greatly amended by the AUTHOR, and an Introduction by Rev. G. B. CHEEVER D. D. New York. Wiley & Putnam. 1845. 12mo. pp. 280.

2. *Explanations; a Sequel to "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation."* By the AUTHOR of that Work. New York. Wiley & Putnam. 1846. 12mo. pp. 142.

become familiarized to our mind. But the value of the book in question is, that it is a clear and connected statement of a very common tendency of thought. In the main, it is concise, attractive and well-sustained ; in some parts, forcible, striking and even eloquent. The theory we do not consider to be as new as the author himself regards it. For its elaborate statement and defence, and for the prominence with which the points of discussion now stand out before the public mind, we are indebted to him. Every statement he has made may be denied, and each argument he has used may be successively confuted ; but the tendency he represents will still remain. An excessive generalizing of the scope and agency of natural law, till it seems to absorb and blot out every other power in the universe, will be a prevailing habit of many minds ; and some, in spite of every confutation and denial, will welcome and apply the conclusions of this very book. And say what we will, the researches of modern science afford much apparent justification to such a tendency. Now how shall this state of things be met ? Allowing every argument, conceding the plausibility of the author's whole scheme, how are the great topics of life and duty affected by it ? This is the question which we shall keep steadily in sight, and answer as clearly as we can.

The author's position and purpose we shall first state, as nearly as we can, in his own words. The special hypotheses, (such as the nebulous origin of the globe, and "organic creation in the manner of natural law,") are subordinate to the main object of the work. This is, to show that "the whole revelation of the works of God is based in LAW ; by which, however, is not meant a system independent or exclusive of Deity, but one which only proposes *a certain mode of his working.*" This "has long been pointed to by science, though hardly anywhere broadly and fully contemplated."

"The time seems to have come," he says, "when it is proper to enter into a re-examination of the whole subject, in order to ascertain whether in what we actually know, there is most evidence in favor of an entire or a partial system of fixed order. When led to make this inquiry for myself, I soon became convinced that the idea of any exception to the plan of law stood upon a narrow and constantly narrowing foundation, depending,

indeed, on a few difficulties or obscurities, rather than objections, which were certain soon to be swept away by the advancing tide of knowledge. It appeared, at the same time, that there was a want in the state of philosophy amongst us, of an impulse in the direction of the consideration of this theory, so as to bring its difficulties the sooner to a bearing in the one way or the other; and hence it was that I presumed to enter the field." — *Sequel*, pp. 2, 3.

When we consider that the theory he maintains has been the object, on the one hand, of the most indiscriminate admiration and defence, and, on the other, of equally indiscriminate censure, ridicule and even abuse, the difficulty of making a fair statement of it is very apparent. It adds to the difficulty, that while the one part have sustained and further carried out unimportant inferences and hints, which make the moral bearing of the book apparently doubtful and even repulsive, the other part have most needlessly sought to obscure or deny very harmless positions, which, but for this controversy, no one would ever have thought of disputing.

To proceed to the author's theory. It begins with that magnificent cosmogony, which blends together the last results of almost the whole circle of the sciences. Setting out with the nebulous hypothesis of Herschel and Laplace, he brings us to the time when the earth was a great whirling globe of molten fire. Then he traces down the series of geological phenomena by which its surface was brought to its present form. The slow hardening of the first rugged crust, heaved and shaken by the fiery waves beneath; the dusky, sultry cloud of vapors, gradually settling into clearness, while with raging storms torrents of water poured down into the depths from the cliff-sides, carrying with them great beds of the torn and crumbling mass; the vast simmering sea, resting on a hot, unstable bottom, and for long ages *boiling down* the river-deposits into solid "primary strata;" the terrific convulsions with which, at distant intervals, these were upheaved by earthquakes, — compared to which those of the present day are but the slight returning shudder after a strong man's convulsions — earthquakes submerging whole continents and changing sea into land; the swelling and rending and swaying to and fro of those solid fetters, by which the vast deep was at length securely chained; then the clustering mosses and

numberless varieties of shells, marking the introduction of life upon the new-formed earth; the enormous forests of palm and gigantic fern, which were one after another sunk and folded together like a leaf into thick coal-beds, by the terrific forces of the great deep; the shoals of fishes; the swarms of gigantic reptiles; the strange and uncouth forms of "beasts and creeping things innumerable;" the gradual advance made, as the continents became settled and the air more clear, towards higher forms of animated being; and the preparation thus going on, through countless centuries, for the future habitation of the lord of all this wondrous creation; — these furnish the outline of that "biography of the earth." They are detailed, though not with any beauty or force of imagination, yet with a clearness and method which make them attractive, even through their driest scientific details, in the opening chapters of the work.

We have thus traced rapidly, keeping as near as possible to the author's leading idea, the general course of those marvellous changes, through which that great cloud of "fire-mist," or that ball of surging flame, had to pass. We are led on, step by step, through the gradations of being that successively appear, till we come down to the present appearance of the earth. Here we find the clear air, the drifting cloud, the pouring river, the diversities of climate; the countless multitude of living things, — life swarming in every nook, and oozing out at every pore; the various species of plants or animals, themselves countless diversified, and each exquisitely adapted to the spot it must inhabit; the many elements, single or in numberless combinations, nicely adjusted, and distributed with amazing forethought and accurate proportion; those subtle agents, electricity and light, half matter half spirit, darting with the speed of thought from place to place, the hands and eyes, as it were, of Omnipotence itself; *life* everywhere, harmonized, balanced, restrained and provided for; — such is the grand, crowning display, for which all the rest was but a course of preparation, ordained of eternity, in the counsels of the Most High.

It would be injustice here not to quote the author's words.

"And what a preconception or forethought have we here! For let us only for a moment consider how various are the exter-

nal physical conditions in which animals live — climate, soil, temperature, land, water, air : the peculiarities of food, and the various ways in which it is to be sought : the peculiar circumstances in which the business of reproduction and the care-taking of the young are to be attended to : all these requiring to be taken into account, and thousands of animals to be formed, suitable in organization and mental character for the concerns they were to have with these various conditions and circumstances, — here a tooth fitted for crushing nuts ; there a claw fitted to serve as a hook for suspension ; here to repress teeth and develop a bony net-work instead ; there to arrange for a bronchial apparatus, to last only for a certain brief time : let us, I say, only consider these things, and we shall see that the decreeing of laws to bring the whole about was an act involving such a degree of wisdom and device as we only can attribute, adoringly, to the one Eternal and Unchangeable. It may be asked, how does this reflection comport with that timid philosophy which would have us to draw back from the investigation of God's works, lest the knowledge of them should make us undervalue his greatness, and forget his paternal character ?" — *Vestiges*, p. 178.

Such is a slender outline of the scheme of creation displayed in the earth on which we dwell. It is to the hidden plan of this, that science seeks to find a clue. It is through the mazes of this, that the author of the work before us studies to find the foot-prints of the mysterious power that framed it ; the "vestiges of the *natural history of creation*." What order does all this follow ? Are all the parts mutually connected and dependent ? Do all result from the same fiat of the Almighty will ? Have the method and rule of succession been appointed from the beginning ; and is what we see, in its overwhelming complexity, but the development of one unchanging plan ? Consider that "the great globe itself and all that it inhabit," make but a single unnoticed speck in a vast "sand-cloud" of myriads of firmaments — each perhaps as glorious and varied as that which sparkles in its immensity above us in the winter sky. Have we any hint, can we find any trace of order, that shall justify us in saying that the whole flood of life, the whole solemn march of evolution, is but the uniform, unbroken progression of one thought of God ? Such, we conceive, is the question which the author of this volume, in no irreverent spirit, has attempted to solve. Such is the intricate obscurity in which he has undertaken to trace

the steady lines of a certain order, and an all-enfolding plan. The immensity and overpowering vastness of the whole *problem of the universe* must be kept in view, if we would do justice to the man, or understand the nature of the task he has set himself about.

Let us fairly see and meet the difficulty which he attempts to solve. On the one hand, the minutely perfect adaptation of each thing to its sphere, the numberless marks of benevolent forethought everywhere shown, the wonderful balance maintained among so many conflicting elements, and the steady advance everywhere manifest towards higher and higher forms of being, compel us to acknowledge the wisdom and love that rule in all, and to lift our thoughts towards an intelligent Creator. On the other hand, every mind experiences a difficulty, which cannot be got over, in referring each single thing to the immediate and, so to speak, mechanical agency of the Infinite. This speculative difficulty indicates the position, from which the main argument of the work proceeds. To use the words of Cudworth, "In the judgment of the writer it is not so decorous in respect of God neither, that he should set his own hand, as it were, to every work, and immediately do all the meanest and triflingest things himself drudgingly; * * * from whence it would follow also, that they are all done either forcibly and violently, or else artificially only, and none of them by any inward principle of their own." *

We state the difficulty in the words of Cudworth, rather than of this writer, both as being less invidious, and as showing that it has always pressed upon a certain class of minds. For ourselves, we do not like the statement. We know that it can be instantly met by the question, — how does anything, too trivial or too painful to be regarded as an immediate creation, change its character, when provided for, ages beforehand, in an undeviating counsel? How is a disease or a monster accounted for, (suppose our mind startled and pained by it,) by throwing its creation back indefinitely, or by referring it, as Cudworth does, to an inferior "plastic nature?" And so the difficulty still remains.

* Intellectual System. Ch. III. § 37. 4.

To all this there is, and so far as we know can be, but one reply. There are *laws of nature*, unchanging and universal. There are modes of operation, perfectly uniform and steady, in conformity with which most of the results we see are brought about, and to which they can be directly traced. We know that the reply is only verbal. We know that the name, *law*, is nothing but a name. We know that it is impossible for the human mind to go behind that name, and metaphysically account for the physical fact. Still the name means much to us. Some may say, what after all is a "law," but a mode of the Divine action? What power but that of God does in fact operate? To this we answer, none other; but our satisfaction is, not in finding a different source of the power, but in knowing that the mode of its action is perfectly regular, and *can be ascertained by us*. This, we conceive, is the real value of the name, and of natural science which interprets it. And thus understood, the phrase "laws of nature" has a meaning to us, very far from being either barren or irreverent.

Minds of every degree of cultivation, and all minds in proportion to their scientific clearness, see and acknowledge the real significance and value of natural laws. The substance of what we say, no one could think of disputing or disparaging. No one doubts that the apparent evil, as well as good, in nature is produced and defined by its own appointed laws. No one can doubt or deny that these laws go on to accomplish themselves, so to speak, with unerring, we might say appalling, certainty. Fever, pestilence, distortion, idiocy, are facts, terrible but undeniable. Who shall refuse to hear of their being traced to laws? And who will fail to be relieved from painful doubt, to know that these very laws are every instant working out an enormous amount of good, in their own sphere, compared with which the seeming evil becomes infinitesimal, and disappears? And is not this a different sort of relief, from the conviction that God with his own hand thus unsparingly metes out, with such fearful accuracy, the exact measure of anguish and horror? The phrase, then, "laws of nature," far from being meaningless, meets very exactly a most pressing want, both of the intellect and of the heart.

One other illustration shall bring us back to the train of our author's argument. A man has no hesitation in casting

the seed—say, of a fruit-tree — into the earth, and intrusting it to the operation of “natural causes.” He knows that sunshine and drought and wet, heat or cold, rain, insect or mildew, soil, care, and grafting, will all have their exact measure of effect upon it; each according to some known or discoverable law. He also knows that its various products, tissue, fibre, pore, leaf, bark, root, wood, flower, fruit, together with all the inconceivably minute and infinitely varied particles of which these are composed, are all evolved mysteriously out of the living germ contained within the seed; and that each single element is selected, with unfailing accuracy, from the earth, air or water that may be about the seed, and is conveyed, without any deviation, to its appointed place. Such is an outline of the vital process, carried on by the laws of nature, in the growth of every tree.

Now here, in the broad field of the universe, is this seedling of our earth, — a speck in the vast firmament of suns and worlds. Science traces its growth, through many stages, up to its present condition. We may regard it as a *vital process*, if we will, analogous to the growth of the tree. And its countless products, comprehending the races of plants and animals, with their growth and reproduction, habits, instincts, fitnesses and wants, may be the evolution of the one law of the world’s growth. Nay, even including man, with his complex powers and diversified scene of action, with all his strange, eventful history, with his passion and ambition, with all the changes and modifications of his social life, with his polity and laws, his literature and art, with his crimes and virtues, with his heroism or sordidness, devotion, love or hate; all may be — why not — but the more complicated and marvellous unfolding of that mysterious germ cast here millions of ages ago. Such is the vast, sweeping and overwhelming thought which the writer attempts to grasp, and to present in his theory of creation.

He does not profess to compass the whole subject, or to answer every difficulty. His statements, he says, are “merely thrown out as hints towards the formation of a just hypothesis.” He does not disguise what he conceives to be the logical results of his postulate, that *all things* are included and governed by fixed, unalterable, unerring law.

Life, up to its highest forms, including even man, is but the transmission and development of the germ originally quickened into vitality. The subtle power of electricity can, any day, renew the first step of that process, and bring living things, a germ or a full-formed animal, out of inorganic matter. Wherever a spot of volcanic rock or a fragment of coral peers above the sea, it is instantly occupied with "spontaneous" forms of living growth, and the process of development towards higher forms is already begun. Distinctions of genera and species, commonly thought to be original and fundamental, are by him merged and obliterated in his scheme of organic evolution. There has been a steady upward growth from the humblest to the highest; and man himself is but the comparative perfection of that type, which has been struggling, as it were, for clearer expression, through every successive grade of animated being. The facts of physiology are ransacked for obscure hints to bear out the separate portions of this hypothesis. The statistics of crime are appealed to, as showing that even the operations of the human will, on a broad scale, are bound by unalterable law, and can be reduced to scientific calculation. In his view "man is a piece of mechanism;" * "part of a series of phenomena;" and free will is "nothing more than a vicissitude in the supremacy of the faculties over each other."† "Mental action passes at once into the category of natural things. Its old metaphysical character vanishes in a moment, and the distinction usually taken between physical and moral is annulled."‡

It is difficult to contemplate steadily this mass of inferences, and decide where we shall begin to except to such sweeping generalizations. Sometimes there seems a flippancy in the statement of the most amazing positions, which it is very apparent could not have been in the author's thought. Sometimes the expressions are very loose, and impossible to reconcile with one another. To us, such terms as "discretion," "nobleness," "penitence," and a whole host of similar import, which he freely uses, cannot possibly be made to stand an instant, or signify anything at all, in a system which reduces man's moral and intellectual life to the foreordained unfolding of a law. Then the very

* *Vestiges*, p. 248.

† p. 246.

‡ p. 232.

statement of such an hypothesis, in many parts, is repulsive. To use the author's own words, "There is a monitor within which denies that it is the whole truth. We intuitively shrink from it in its isolated sternness, and demand to know if there are not other truths which require to be associated with it, before it can be received even in its most limited application."* The author is here speaking, in another connexion, of what he had before termed the "sublime simplicity of this indifference" towards special results of an all-comprehending law.

As to the scientific argument brought to sustain the length and breadth of this hypothesis, it must, from the nature of the case, be utterly inadequate. At best, it can only amount to hints and analogies, which will convey an impression wholly different to different minds. We need not review the course of that argument, as it has been carried on in the leading journals of the day. It is sufficient to say that, while demonstration is impossible, the general tenor and bearing of the facts he has adduced from geology and physiology, in illustration of his theory, can never be overthrown; and that some of the writer's opponents have put themselves at a great disadvantage, by attempting to gainsay what they have supposed to be too favorable towards him. We shall refer very briefly to this again.

But suppose the case much more fully made out than perhaps it ever will be. Suppose science succeeds in establishing every adduced fact that can possibly come within its province. Suppose it to be proved, (as it never can be proved,) that the absolute distinction of species and even of genera is fallacious; and that all the tribes of animals, including, for argument's sake, even man, have "ascended" by a continuous line from one primeval stock. Suppose that the process of "manufacturing life in retorts" — which was the anticipatory boast of French chemistry half a century ago, — should become as common as the manufacture of nitrous oxide, or the transmission of electromagnetic despatches. Suppose all this; what then? Is the dignity or the sacredness of human life in any degree lessened by such a result as this? Has the absolute, uni-

* *Vestiges*, p. 273.

versal, undeviating supremacy of natural law been proved, in spiritual as well as material things? We think not.

To us it makes no difference in the sacred gift of life, whatever channels of transmission it has passed through, from God the giver. It does not disturb us to be told that the clay was already organized, into which the Creator "breathed the breath of life, so that man became a living soul." The fact, even on this author's hypothesis, remains the same as ever. Man is the summit, the crowning point, of all God's wonderful creation. Taking up and carrying on the mysterious chain of being, his spirit rises with it and leads it back to the Infinite, whence it originally came. We do not understand the reproach cast upon that hypothesis, of reducing man to a level with "vulgar nature;" or the justness of such an epithet, applied to the living universe which is the divine handiwork. At the same time, to our mind there is every evidence of more close, vital and, so to call it, personal operation of the creative Spirit, than the author seems to recognize. Each successive stage of creation is in the strictest sense supernatural to the next below. The "half-reasoning elephant" evidently acknowledges and respects a superior nature in the man. The dog regards his master with an "upward affection," which struck the mind of Coleridge as the only approach, among animals, to the human sentiment of reverence. The monkey will sit, perhaps for hours, turning over the leaves of a book, and gazing on its pages in stupid bewilderment. He will imitate human actions, and try vainly to copy human skill. He will peer most curiously into whatever men are about, and then "fumble and bungle" in doing it after them. He will go through the most ludicrous mimicry, in trying to copy the gestures of a mother's affection for her child. He sees the form, and forever puzzles himself about the meaning. Now these vague analogies between the human and brute mind are not without their significance. The *type*, both of organic structure and mental character, stamped so plainly on every class of living things, had been regarded as the "image and superscription" of the Maker's hand, denoting unity of design throughout, and marking them as parts of one system, before any theory had appeared connecting them organically. And thus regarded, we esteem it very far from irreverent,

to trace the successive unfoldings of organic, intellectual and moral life, as portions of one great whole ; or to anticipate the time, when the present average advancement of the human race shall seem but the rude beginning of a glorious and ever widening course.

It is hardly necessary to say, in addition to what has been already said, that the author's theory, even as he understands it, does by no means conflict with any fact dear to the religious mind. It does not deny, any more than gravitation or magnetism denies, the doctrine of inspiration, providence or immortality. All that need be said is, that these doctrines, and any others having a moral or religious import, are to be established on altogether different evidence from any the writer pretends to give ; and cannot possibly be overthrown by any doctrine or discovery of science.

The existence and government of God must be assumed, in any conceivable theory of the universe, as its necessary explanation, and the bond of connexion among its parts. And we think that any one, who will form to himself the conception of such a Divine Author as the universe requires, will be compelled to acknowledge that no *a priori* argument can possibly be maintained, from a scientific point of view, making a direct revelation (by which we mean a *personal communication* of God with the human race) in any degree improbable. This, we may add, is distinctly asserted, or implied, in the author's repeated and earnest declarations.

The other question proposed is, whether the facts of man's moral and spiritual life are strictly the necessary development of natural law,—in the same sense as the germination and ripening of a seed of grain are strictly subject to the law of vegetable growth. Here, if we understand the author rightly, we are utterly and irreconcilably opposed to him. In his view, unless he has singularly misrepresented himself, every action of man is as necessary as the falling of a stone or the flow of a river. Virtue and vice, heroism and crime, are but as fruit and blight, beauty and decay, in a rare garden-plant. His system, as he states it, is nothing more or less than the old, perpetually re-appearing one, of the most absolute and entire fatalism. To this we have nothing to oppose, but simple and uncom-

promising denial. It is not so. No possible accumulation of scientific facts and arguments can ever prove it so. We do not mean now to call in question a single fact he has brought for reasoning or illustration. But we say, without the least reserve, that his inference from those facts is wholly unjustifiable and false. For, in any conceivable meaning of those terms, it is an outright denial of the moral nature of man, and the moral signification of life. It is an abandonment and defiance of the very fact most deeply stamped on every human mind, and implied in every word of praise or reproach, every sentiment of admiration or horror, every epithet in every language of man that appeals to the common heart, and in the profound conviction everywhere implanted, of the supremacy of *character* over every other thing. Such complete denial as this of that whole class of facts bearing on the moral nature and destiny of man, is unworthy of one whose boast is, that his science bases itself on facts; and who reproaches the whole class of philosophic minds, that their system "does not so much as pretend to have nature for its basis."* With Plato, the good is the highest and hardest conception of all. "In scientific inquiry," he says, "the idea of good is the last of all, and with difficulty to be seen."† We understand this idea to be utterly denied and "ignored," by one who takes the view our author does of good and evil.

We have stated, as strongly as we can, our entire dissent from the theory offered here to account for the facts of man's moral nature. It is not a process of argument, but a primitive, absolute conviction, which we oppose to it. It is what Kant has well called the "categorical imperative," which can in no wise be for a moment departed from. It is as certain as any fact, any axiom, or any step of ratiocination, in natural science, can possibly be. The questions bearing upon it are of an order wholly distinct, the axioms and method are distinct, and the results to be attained equally distinct, from anything proposed in scientific inquiry. When we come to deal with character, motives, and the freedom of the human will, we are on ground that physics cannot reach. And it is thoroughly unscientific, for any one to deny the validity of the facts or reasonings which

* Vestiges, p. 227.

† Rep. B. VII. p. 517.

we here assume. To the Infinite Mind the two departments of physical and moral truth may be one and the same. Science and philosophy, so seen, may be blended in one. The more perfectly their respective results are attained, the more nearly are they found to coincide. But to the mind of man, the two can never become identical; and least of all will we assent to that process, which would simplify the matter by merging either of them in the other.

We have said that we do not mean to deny a single fact of science brought to bear on the argument. We seek and welcome whatever can be set in clearer light by the investigations of physiology, or the statistics of human life. Discoveries of this sort have a value, which we would not once think of rejecting or denying. But they do not touch upon the fundamental facts of human will and human responsibility. All they can ever do, is to show the limitations of the will and the extent of the responsibility. They mark out — the more clearly and definitely, the better — the conditions and circumstances of man's moral life; but that life itself they neither create, gainsay nor define. They display to us facts of the same order as the crippling of a limb, or the delirium of a fever; which have nothing to do with the normal state of our moral being. Phrenology itself, or Neurology, (granting them both proved,) can do no more than this; for either is but a curious and obscure branch of Physiology. As soon as either assumes to be more than this, and to usurp the province of Ethics or Metaphysics, it is futile and false. At most, they can tell us of the physical limitations to mental phenomena; and to our mind they rather suggest the bounds which restrain and hamper the operations of spirit, than speak of the essence of human character and life. Precisely the same thing may be said of the arguments drawn from climate, race, circumstances, disease, and the like. All these only show how the limits may vary, expanding or contracting as the human element is more or less developed; but by no means reduce human action within the category of natural things. For the soul, in however humble degree, is a creative spirit, like its Maker. We are compelled to judge its acts on the assumption, that they proceed from its own originating agency; and hence it is, as Coleridge well remarks, "a contradiction in terms," to ascribe them to natural law.

We have been thus distinct upon this point, because we hold it to be first of all important, to protest against the encroachments of science or of its supporters, when unwarrantably interfering, though in the smallest degree, with the province of spiritual truth. We consider it, moreover, of the highest moment, that science and philosophy should fairly understand their mutual position, so that each may help and not hinder the other in their common pursuit of truth. We are the more impelled to make this protest, because it seems imperative on the philosophic mind to withstand the subtilizing materialism that grows, naturally enough, out of the amazing discoveries of modern science, and justifies itself by perpetual appeals to the "vanishing lines" of scientific investigation. This tendency, as we are deeply convinced, cannot be met any otherwise, than by re-asserting, most positively and distinctly, (with all the modifications, indeed, required by the actual state of science,) the primitive absolute doctrine of the freedom of the human soul. The personal element, the spiritual force, pervades, interpenetrates and characterizes all its action; just as much as the sun's light transforms the drifting cloud, or as electricity is present in every chemical operation in the vast laboratory of the universe. Neither philosophy nor science can give any quarter, or live in mutual respect and peace, until the bounds of each are distinctly acknowledged, and the province of each is clearly understood.

Doubtless, in saying this, we conflict with the assertions and the arguments contained throughout the works under review. But we do not see how it can clash with the writer's unconscious conviction, if he means what he constantly and inevitably implies. For his labor, as he tells us, had a moral purpose in view. It was for the sake of doing good, of rousing reflection, of startling by momentous truths, and quickening the sense of responsibility, — not for the sake of idly promulgating a barren theory, — that he came thus before the public.* We speak with the greater freedom, therefore, of the fallacy involved; which in our view is more mischievous, in its theoretical and practical results, than any other obtruded by the supporters of any half-way theory whatever. It is the real ground of the scruples and

* See *Vestiges* — Concluding note; and especially *Sequel*, p. 130.

objections that have been raised against his hypothesis. Other objections are comparatively slight. This, if once made out and carried to its legitimate results, is fatal. And it is against any supposed immoral tendency of his speculations, that he seeks most earnestly to vindicate himself in his reply.

We need not go at large into the merits of the controversy. As is well known, almost every position he has adduced, for fact or illustration, has been contested. The "Sequel" is an elaborate reply to the criticisms especially of the Edinburgh and North British Reviews. While he acknowledges the scientific attainments of the reputed authors of these criticisms, which to very many minds have seemed quite decisive of his merits, the writer undertakes to meet and refute every objection they have urged. He begins with an exposition of his original design, and a defence of the nebular hypothesis from the supposed contradiction of recent discoveries. Next he makes his assertion, that "the workings of the little world of the human mind — the opposite extreme of the system — are under law likewise." The next and largest portion of his "explanation," occupying more than fifty pages, is taken up with a labored reply to the assertion of the Edinburgh Review, that no indubitable traces of the regular succession of gradations of being can be found in the geological series. So far as one not an adept may be permitted to judge, it would seem that he very successfully vindicates his assertion, of what till this controversy few had ever doubted, — that there is a general and steady progression to be observed, with a little obscurity as to its precise steps and limits. These considerations, however, are only preliminary and subordinate. He goes on to defend his physiological positions; to assert the genuineness of the experiments of Messrs. Crosse & Weeks,* which have called forth much controversy and derision, and which are here given in detail, in an appendix; and to treat of several minor points, which are, or which are thought to be, involved in his general design; together with the supposed moral bearing of this and similar processes of thought. We pass all by, with this slight notice, because to our mind they are in no way implicated

* The supposed generation of a species of mite by an electric current.

in the questions that concern us, further than they have already been discussed.

One word in conclusion. If the respectable publishers of this edition are afraid to reprint a work of supposed heretical tendency, without an accompanying attack upon its opinions, — if they feel it incumbent upon them to satisfy the religious public and their own conscience, without losing the opportunity of being first in the market with a highly popular work, — why can they not, in consideration of the good sense of the community, if not as a mark of decent respect to the author by whose labors they increase their gains, give a reply of fair scientific ability, thus enabling their readers to judge of the real merits of the case; rather than prefix the dull absurdity and clumsy ridicule of the “Introduction,” they have seen fit to insert? With this single interrogatory we take leave of our task.

J. H. A.

ART. III.—ARGUMENTS FOR IMMORTALITY.

THE teachings of nature are revelations from God. They may not, indeed, be so clear to the mind enfeebled through mistakes and sins, as to man with his nature wholly developed; yet they are full of power and beauty. We may be startled at an expression, which compares the revelations of nature with the authoritative declarations of Jesus Christ. The fearful importance of religious truth, and the neglect with which it has been regarded by men without the instructions of Jesus, lead us to turn to his words exclusively, as our only refuge, and to disparage all other means by which God seeks to instruct us. That spirit which drew a lesson of contentment from the birds of heaven, and stooped to borrow illustrations of Divine Providence from the lilies of the field, recognized the presence of the great Creator in all things, and referred our minds to the wide world around us, to the heavens above, to reason, to conscience, to affection, to the soul, as uttering the voice of God. The Gentiles heard this voice, when they obeyed the law written upon their hearts. The Psalmist of Israel devoutly listened to it, upon the house-top, before

he tuned his harp to sing of the heavens, declaring the glory of God.

We cannot disparage nature, without disparaging God. We may, indeed, think lightly of what men sometimes consider to be nature, and of the lessons which a careless reasoning propounds: as the traveller from the mountain-top may carelessly regard the landscape, whose loveliness is concealed by mist, and the mariner near the pole may pronounce the magnet a useless needle. But the more devoutly our hearts have been impressed by the miracles and words of Jesus, the more reverently, also, we regard the broad light of God's truth, which shines through all the world. The stillness of night, in the solitary chamber, as the Christian looks out upon the skies and upon a world asleep under the Providence of God, awakens the deep devotion of his mind: while the drunken straggler thoughtlessly shouts his folly forth, and the careless and selfish spirit finds the goodly canopy of the stars a mere sight for a showman, or "a pestilential congregation of vapors." Indeed, it is only when we feel that the world is but a form to God the soul, a mirror reflecting the mind of God, that the world is ever more than a form to us. Religion is the source of its beauty. It is only when man, the spirit, looks upon the mountain and the sea, that grandeur and beauty and poetry exist.

The strong impulses of nature are widely different from the impulses of man, the creature of art, the distorted work of vice. The mother, who silences the deep throbbing of her heart, as she looks upon her sleeping infant, and labors and prays for its good, finds that her affections teach her some duties as solemnly as her nature can understand. In general, it is only when we see the full harmony of our original natures with the teachings of revelation, that the commandments of the Scripture come with power to the soul. It is not the work of amusement, to show the identity of nature with revealed religion. It is not impiety, to rest with deep confidence upon the utterance of the voice of God in the soul. It is not deism, to gather from the world the intimations of our immortality. The faculty of reason cannot be more happily employed, than when of ourselves we judge what is right, and find our judgment confirming the teachings of Jesus, opening the eye of the

understanding more fully to receive the light, which had hitherto shone like day, but shone upon our blindness.

That the desire of immortal existence is felt by the human heart, is proof to the reflecting mind of the immortality of man. Continued existence is the deep desire of all. Immersed, indeed, in the cares of life, or in remorseful pleasures, it is not the thought of the joys of heaven and a life in the manifest presence of God and of angels, that is calling us forward. It is not the distant future, perhaps, which leads on any one. The idea of ages upon ages rolling away, and ages upon ages still presenting their faint forms in eternity of succession, is too vast for the human mind wholly to comprehend: as we pursue it, we feel that we tread upon the borders of the infinite: we believe, not because we can see, but because it is impossible wholly to escape from seeing. To most persons, the spiritual world may seem an abstraction; but death is worse than all abstractions. Life to-day leads on the wish for life to-morrow. We complain of life, but we cannot resign it. The infirmities of age lead men to be reconciled to death, — not to view it with that natural contentment, with which the heart welcomes the object of its love. In the severer trials and the disappointments of human existence, men prefer their sufferings to the extinction of consciousness. The light of the sun still reveals to them a beautiful world, and even night pours around them a peacefulness too pleasing to be resigned. The convict, nursed in crime, brought up to intimate familiarity with the hauntings of remorse, confined for weary days to his own reflections within the solitude of the cell, hears with terrible misgiving the stroke of the bell which announces the preparations for his death, and as he labors to walk with his gaoler to the scene of his death, pleads earnestly and bitterly for life. Those who have had no instruction from man in the hope of immortality, do not arrive at the time when they are willing to die. In the excitement of battle, when reflection is prevented, they may dare to face the danger of dying; in the disappointment of earthly pride, and the emptiness of soul, under which the vicious fall distracted, — in the ignorance which has never known of spiritual joys, nor supposed that man could arrive at happiness higher than that of animal gratification,—men have been found to pass away not unwillingly

from the world. Still, in ignorance, disappointment and remorse, many who have passed from life, have bid the world good-bye as a loving friend, who had been strangely alienated, and to whose embraces their fond hearts yearned for permission to return.

The love of life is the desire of immortality. It is not in this scene or in that, that I ask to spend my days. The distant star may be a dwelling of delight to me, or the world I live in. It may be indifferent to me, in what separate apartment of God's infinite mansion I may pass existence; but I would live, I would not resign this pleasing being to-day. I have hopes for the evening, I have plans for the morrow: and when to-morrow comes, my mind, thoughtless of death, unable, without violence done to the course of thought, to prepare for the end of being, runs for other days and weeks and years, and imagines the future of God still extending before me, with works of usefulness in which I would engage. How is man reconciled to die? Take away his hope of immortality, and the grave has a victory over him, which it shocks him to contemplate. The worst ills which he can endure, the pangs with which unrepented iniquity shall visit him, will all be needed to bring him to submit to the triumphs of death. The good, the happy, without the hope of immortality, cannot sustain the view of death. The great mass of the world, which is not to be deemed remorseful or miserable, cannot endure the thought of death, except in the hope of resurrection. Men desire life; they desire life that shall never end. Death is an evil too dread to contemplate; nature shrinks back with shuddering at the thought, abhors and denies it.

The desire of life is considered the strongest of human desires. It has been supposed universal. It is believed to be an instinctive desire in the human heart. But if it is admitted that the desire for life is one which the Author of our nature has implanted, it must be admitted also that it is one which he will not disappoint. What other native desire fails of opportunity for fulfilment? What other prompting of nature is found false and wrong? Nature inspires us with the love of knowledge. It is developed in early childhood, and exhibited in the latest hours of age. But in every year of life, and in every period of the world,

nature is unfolding to man the vast volume of her works, and leading him to the secret recesses where her jewels of truth are hid. Individuals, indeed, are sometimes disappointed in the gratification of peculiar wishes ; but man, in general, finds the means of gratifying all his desires. The world is fitted to him, and he to the world. If, on the other hand, whenever man with his earnest mind looked forth for knowledge, mystery and darkness continually rose before his view, and when his trembling affections called upon human love, every source of earthly sympathy was found to be closed, and men passed by smiling in indifference or laughing in scorn ; or when the demands of his physical nature sought wholesome food, the mellow fruits of earth turned continually to dust and ashes in his mouth ; we might then believe that one desire more, even the strongest, is destined to disappointment, too. But finding the means provided to answer every other call of man's nature, we believe that the last great call, the prayer for life, will be answered also. If the grave is the last scene of human existence, the nature of man is not fitted to the state in which he is placed. If man is not to live again, his heart has not been rightly attuned in its many thousand strings. It was not kind to give him conceptions of a higher world and desire for its enjoyment, and lead him forward only to disappoint him by shifting the bright vision away. Nor is it possible for us to believe, that God, the great Artificer, whose works exhibit the height of wisdom and the perfection of harmony, can have made the human heart discordant with human life, and inspired it with a desire, gratuitous, and, if not about to enjoy its promised gratification, useless and injurious to its peace.

But nature still further teaches our immortality, by having rendered it difficult for us to conceive of death. One would think that when the dying fall daily around us, proofs so clear are granted to us of our own frailty, that the thought of our being about to die must of all convictions be living and profound. Yet it is with difficulty that we draw nigh to the thought of our death. We are fully able to conceive of scenes of life and enjoyment ; we draw bright pictures of the lot which in a few short years will fall to us. We can easily conceive of various disappointments, and bright hopes fading away. We can, indeed,

conceive of a dreadful time, when lover and friend will be put far away from us, when the light of the stars will be extinguished, and darkness and the grave and earth shall be our dwelling-place and our fate; but all the terrors of the grave come from one strong conviction, that we live to experience them. What matters it to the senseless clod, whether it is inurned in marble, laid down to sleep under the grass-green turf, or lost in the waves of the ocean? Why do we care whether flowers bloom above the place of our repose, and father and mother, or son and daughter and friend, wear away the sod which covers our remains, if we have no sense of honor paid us, no thought of indifference and neglect? But men are careful of their tombs; they shudder at death, because they think of the continuance of their conscious being, and cannot separate themselves from the thought of life. Labor as we may, we cannot conceive of nothingness. Leave others uninspired by conceptions of heaven or hell, by thoughts of the activity and labor, the joys and sufferings of a spiritual world, and their minds linger around the body in the tomb, and believe in its unspeakable suffering, till it has mingled with the formless dust. We undertake slow work, when we attempt to persuade men that they will surely die. Nature in our hearts, and in them, continually denies the lessons which we are giving, and answers, 'Man shall die no more.' Philosophers have wondered that men are slow to receive the lesson; religionists have complained of it, and the pious have mourned over it. But daily as the example of death is presented, eloquently, earnestly as the preacher may declaim of the time appointed to die and the narrow house for all the living, the busy throng pass out from the sanctuary and away from the coffin, and the first bright look of the world, and sense of health in the pure air of heaven, banish the lesson which the coffin had presented and the preacher had laboriously endeavored to enforce. Why should it be so difficult to convince men of mortality? Why should we feel inability to conceive of death's approach? Are we rendered blind by nature to the great truths which shall be? Are we prevented by nature from dwelling upon that, which, if true, is the most wonderful of all truths? It is because we do not die, that we do not conceive of death. It is because God, the eternal Father

of the soul, does not intend that we shall conceive of death. We never die : we pass from scene to scene in existence. We rise from glory to glory, or we pass to greater degradation. There is no death ; and we cannot teach men to believe what God has inspired them to deny.

How easy to persuade men that they are to live a little longer, and a little longer, until only in the hour of mortal dissolution they begin to imagine our kind encouragements deceptions. In sicknesses of great pain the name of death is called upon, but the mind is too much excited and disturbed to understand the meaning of the call. In much of mortal illness the senses are too far withdrawn, to enable the mind to enquire after life or death. But in illness when no great pain is endured, and the bodily senses are left unimpaired in their acuteness, the pale consumptive talks of life, and his eye burns brightly with hope, his heart beats strongly with affection. The extinction of his being is as far from his thought as from yours and mine. We bid him farewell, but he expects our return to-morrow : or the full sense of existence inspires him with the consciousness of immortal life, and he appoints our meeting in the eternal world. Let the preacher, with the sign of mortal disease burning in his cheek, arise to address us upon immortal hopes, and though we gaze upon his attenuated form and see, as it were, the sinews of his life moment by moment divided, yet as he presents to us a view of heavenly existence, and tells of labors yet to be undertaken, love to be enjoyed through ages unending, our hearts involuntarily echo to the sound. His soul triumphs over the body. We see him turning to a spiritual existence before our gaze. We believe in the spirit's existence, though we look upon the body's death.

The thought of spiritual existence, perhaps, has never been believed in so little in any age as in the present. Yet we are by no means passing into general skepticism. The Indian believed in the Great Spirit ; Naiads and Dryads filled wood and flood to the ancient ; and in later days, the fairy and elf were sweeter ideas, flowing from the spirituality of the popular mind, than the genius of the student-poet could invent. Death has made no part of the popular conception of spiritual beings, and shortly it will make no part of our conception of ourselves. It is the body that

dies. "I cannot believe it," is the first exclamation of the survivor, when the intelligence of his friend's death is brought to him. Well, we ought not to believe him dead; we ought not to try to believe him dead. We are not called upon to believe it: why should we make the vain struggle to believe it true? Let nature have her way. Suffer the voice of God to be heard within the heart, above the voice of men, who have been deceived by the passing show of death. Gone? Yes! the familiar voice is gone; but the kindness, which prompted it, survives: the familiar features will not beam again, in this world, with the smile of love; but the affection, which alone we regarded in them, lives, and will forever live, and will animate other spiritual features, of light and beauty such that pain can never shade them, nor death have power to disturb. Death may be for the world which is around us. The leaves may fall; the waves of the ocean rest from their tumultuous flow; the stars of heaven, perhaps, which angels, it would seem, might descend from their sphere to gaze upon with rapture, may cease to emit unneeded rays: but man survives the ruins of the outward world, and rises to a purer existence. Cease to tell us, we must die. Do not point to the graves of kindred. They are not there. They never were there. They looked down with compassion, when with tears, and sobs and anguish for ourselves, we conveyed with many tokens of respect their bodies to the tomb, and with their light wings they passed close by the faces they had loved, and strove to burst the airy bondage of the spiritual world, to tell how happy it is to die. Tell us not of *death*: if you would persuade us to be good, tell us of the blessedness of life with God; if you would deter us from sin, tell us of the living soul, alive to its Maker, absent from his smiles.

But some say that we see men die, and therefore must believe in death. But from the death of the body, we cannot draw the conclusion that our being becomes extinct. Upon reflection, we become convinced that we never saw death, and that it is beyond the bounds of knowledge yet acquired, that a man who has once lived has ever died. 'The spirit has left its earthly abode:' — we cannot penetrate further into the mystery of death. The tenant of some earthly dwelling packs up his goods, and removes with wife and children to a distant abode: we believe that he still

lives, though we knock at his door in vain, find no marks around of labor lately pursued, and see no light at evening glimmering from the window. And if our eye-sight is destroyed, so that we can no longer look forth upon the world, and the avenue of hearing is sealed, and the world sends back no tokens of its existence, we can yet believe that other beings *are*. They may have senses and means of communication, which we have not. The dead, who have been silently removed beyond the reach of sense, may have means of communication of which our uninstructed minds cannot conceive. To them a whole world of spirits may be open. All beings who have lived, may have seen and known them. Have we seen them die? We have only seen them depart from their accustomed habitation, and, with our feeble vision, were unable to follow them upon the path which they pursued.

We cannot see them in their new abode. But we must honestly admit, we never *saw* them here. We looked upon the form; but it was not marble, which walked forth in majesty, and the blush upon the cheek bore no relationship to the changes of mere clay. We saw the eye, but never the spirit, which lighted it with emotion and made use of its glance. We never saw the spirit in its happiness, though we remember with fond delight the smile with which its happiness was told. How little of any man do we ever see! By familiar intercourse and long observation, we think at last that we understand his principles, his impulses, himself. Yet tacitly, to ourselves, we admit that we may be mistaken in our estimate of his character, for we have had no visible acquaintance with him. The mariner, wrecked at sea, after enduring the storm of the elements for days and nights in his open boat upon an unknown ocean, is brought by the waves at last to approach a shore, and in the dimness of night, when he can scarcely discern its outline and can discover no human beings, he learns from scattered lights set up to show his way, that he is to find a home among a civilized and hospitable people. And we, too, learn what manner of people they are, with whom we daily associate, not because we see them, but because the eye traces the outline of their forms, and the mind watches their motions and observes their conduct. If we saw the *soul*, in which alone character resides, not

through long study, but at a glance, we should understand the affections and principles of the man. We can only say of the dead, the spirit makes no signs to us ; it sets up no friendly light to assure us of its existence, and presents no token to inform us that we sail over the waves of an inhospitable life, to be welcomed to a share in its blessedness. The experience of every night and morning should teach us a lesson of immortality. We separate from the friends we love, and have no means of knowing, in the hours of darkness, that they are not all in the spirit-land. Morning restores them to us. They lived, though we had no cognizance of their life. The departed have left us, by ourselves, each in his narrow chamber here : but, when morning dawns in a world that knows no night, we, whom *they* have lost, will be restored to them. We are living, though perhaps they know it not ; they, too, may be living, though we cannot behold them.

Man's progressive nature justifies the Christian's belief in immortal existence. Every path marked out by man leads, or is intended to lead, to some useful end ; when we enter upon a road, we expect its size and excellence to lead to a place commensurate with the pains bestowed upon its construction. Every affection, every capacity of the human soul is boundless. The heart is never filled with loving, the mind is never satiated with knowing. Answer the questions of the curious child ; will it ask no more ? Teach us the science we would learn ; will the love of knowledge be extinguished by your teachings ? On the other hand, the love of knowledge grows by being gratified. The philosopher, who has spent many years in the serious pursuit of truth, is moved by a love which has grown stronger with every year ; and when he is humbled, at the last, by the consciousness of the little that he knows, it is only because he sees a world opened around him, into which he longs to penetrate. We never attempt to estimate how much his mind can contain. He would ascend, if it were possible, to the highest stars ; he would open the lowest depths of earth ; he would encompass the world ; he would know all history, art should take to him all her curious inventions to be examined, nature should display before him all her sublimity and beauty and strangeness ; the heart of man should open all its secret stores, and the soul lead him to its hid-

den sources of every misery and every joy. But how is he limited in this world by the impossibility of supplying his demands! He is opposed by barriers, which he cannot pass. Ought not the love of knowledge to be extinguished, when a certain amount of knowledge has been attained? Ought it to have been created at first so strong, and always liable to increase with the gratification of its wants? Man needs a life of immortality, before his desire of knowledge shall be filled. He is not suited to this world. Immortality is required to explain the mystery we discover in the illimitable thirst for knowledge bestowed by the Creator.

And the human heart is equally capacious of affection. Its love is not extinguished, when it meets the objects of its love. Give us friends, let us purify our hearts from selfishness, and exalt them to their purest, truest state, — then the affections expand and become illimitable. The heart then loves, not the few alone, with whom it happily bears the burdens and enjoys the pleasures of the world, but man. Wisdom, goodness everywhere bind its attachment. It loves the ignorant, that it may enlighten them; the hardened and the sensual, that it may redeem them. Its capacity has become increased by every effort made to improve it: and at the hour of seeming death, the man of goodness is better prepared for life, better prepared to do good and to enjoy existence, than at any previous period of his being. Can we believe, then, that all the virtue, all the knowledge, all the love, which he has attained, shall be rendered useless, just at the moment of being fitted for the highest usefulness? Can the potter break the vessel, which he has just formed upon the wheel, and beautified by all the adornments which his skill could fashion, and made precious through the exercise of taste and expense of labor? Or the statuary shatter the marble, carved so exquisitely that it expresses the loftiest emotions of the soul, and seems about to speak and to act them? Neither shall we believe that he who made the heart a harp of many thousand strings, and tuned it each year to richer harmonies, and raised the mind to loftiest powers of thought, can rudely destroy the work of his spirit, and offer the ruins of its hopes as fit subjects of scorn for demons of a lower world.

Man cannot die, when he is most fitted to live. The wise and the virtuous, laboring for the good of man, honored

and beloved, filling spheres of usefulness, into which no earthly footsteps can enter, if they are removed, do not die : they are called, as the reward of their labors, to cooperate with God in a higher scene of being, — perhaps to pursue, with powers immeasurably increased, the work which they had loved on earth ; and, though unseen and without the credit of men, successfully accomplish what as men they never could have performed. Service more noble, service in which their deep desire to be useful shall be more effectual, is committed to their faithfulness. If death, on the other hand, is the end of being, what an inexplicable mystery is the world ! Human thought can find no wisdom in the Creator : he has made a path, which leads to no end. In all other works of God we find appropriateness, but none in man. The stalk decays, when it is no longer needed to bear the ripened seed ; but it lives until the seed is ready to fall, with the promise of a future harvest. Every object in nature, the brute, the bird, is fitted to its station. But man sets forth upon the sea of knowledge, vast beyond conception, and his voyage is a shipwreck, almost at its commencement. The heart is full of affection, and every friend departs, and we at last lie down in the grave to look back upon a world, in which every valuable hope has been disappointed. We are religious beings ; the light of God's throne continually, amidst all the labors, joys, and trials of life, breaks through the skies and clouds to gild our path : and religion, God, is nothing to us, unless in another world our connexion with God is rendered perfect, and the Object of our reverence and our love is brought continually more nigh. We cannot believe that God is, and not believe man immortal.

Belief in immortality seems to be necessary for the full development of man according to his nature, and still more for his redemption, when once he has been subject to moral evil. If there is a thought, without which the destiny of man cannot be fulfilled, that thought is true. If without it there is no courage, or hope is materially impaired, and principle despoiled of its strength, — if with it nature returns in all its power, and man seems placed in natural relationships with himself, and life in highest excellence moves easily on, — if there *be* truth, that thought is true. But do we, can we, find man securely advancing to the highest

excellence, without belief in immortality? Perhaps ancient philosophers believed it more than they were aware of. Minds, with so little affinity to earth, could not else have looked upon death with calmness; and purity and impurity would have shed upon their dying hours an equal peace or equal indifference. In the midst of the struggles of man after goodness, goodness ceases to own more than half its value, if it be not immortal. True, in this life the soul is; and enjoys and suffers according to its deserts. But the labor of advancing to excellence is great; and if to-morrow, or within the compass of a few short years, our labors are rendered valueless, they lose the chief source of their interest now. A great mind cannot labor in that which is wholly transitory. Hurried on by passion, fixed in evil determinations, calling evil good and good evil, proud of wisdom when overwhelmed in ignorance, man, without the thought of immortality, is ruined. His sense of self-respect destroyed, indifferent to the sufferings of wife and children, careless of the entreaties of friends, conscious, but reckless of the destruction of earthly hopes and the prospect of degradation and ruin, man has no means of redemption. As mortal, he has no responsibility; and to him, God is not. It is only when he sees his guilt and sin and misery stretching illimitable ages into the future, it is only when he must live, and there is no escape from life and the ill of life, but by one single course, that of repentance, that redemption seems possible. The hope of annihilation, the dim thought that by some means without goodness his misery shall be stayed, renders him weak to all exhortations from without and for all endeavors from within. It is only when he sees himself in the arms of an iron fate, by one prayer only to be unlocked,—or in the storm of whirling waves, without support, with depth immeasurable under him, and one star only above to direct his course,—that he can be saved. No human power can bear comparison in its tyranny to the reckless sway of moral evil; no conception of supernatural malignancy surpasses the authority to which the hopelessness of the sinful soul is subjected. It is not by a choice of means that redemption can be achieved. One way only is open,—the thought of evil, too great, too long continued for human endurance, if guilt continue,—the thought of bliss too

rich, too tearful, too long continued for human conception, if guilt be brought to an end. Heaven opens wide "her ever-during gate, on golden hinges moving," and all that poet could foretell, or religion itself attempt to convey to our feeble imagination, presents itself to the ready faith, the joyful acceptance of the repenting soul. Repentance becomes possible in the thought of immortality. Without it, who has ever escaped from the folds of the serpent, or broken through the iron gates that shut him in to misery? The truth of immortality is proved by its necessity to the soul; it is the one thought, by which man's destiny is possible of achievement.

We do not suppose, that we have presented arguments for believing in the immortality of the soul, which are not elsewhere accessible. Our work is accomplished, if we have brought together what is scattered, or prepared in a new form what our readers may not have elsewhere read, nor have given birth to in their own minds. The doctrine of immortality cannot be set forth too often. However firm may be our faith in the miracles and words of Jesus, it must be a source of satisfaction to us, to read the same testimony written by the finger of Almighty God upon the world around us, and the soul within. The argument from nature, however powerfully set forth, can never tend to invalidate the claims of Jesus, when we consider that it is only by his light that we are first inspired with a wish, and gifted with power, to read the record, which for ages had been hidden in darkness.

But the faith which we need in immortality, is a faith of the heart, such as no mere arguments, whether drawn from the page of nature or the teachings of Jesus, can alone sufficiently inspire. All good thoughts claim kindred one with another. He who believes obeys; but it is not less true, that he who consents to obey finds himself able to believe. The soul, with many ties which bind it in the ways of selfishness, cannot ascend the heights from which the land of spirit-life may be seen. Impetuous in passion and remorseful, it is not calm enough to estimate the view. When the deep peace of self-sacrifice, of generous love and strict obedience, fills the mind, then comes in the intuitive conviction of the immortality of our being. The soul ascends in conscious grandeur. Conscious of present

greatness, it cannot admit the thought of littleness and death. Active, earnest, useful, it feels too much its harmony with the universe, its atonement with God, to imagine that God can be so *strange* as to disappoint its high hopes, and destroy the power of its joyous affections. Our faith in immortality is a moral faith. In all the teachings of Christ he implies that the good believe themselves immortal, as well as urges upon the impenitent their immortality in ill.

E. B.

ART. IV.—FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF REASONING.*

THEOLOGY, more than other sciences, needs the aid of logic, for in no other science do we find greater diversity of opinion, and more inconclusive reasoning. How often in listening to theological discussions from the pulpit does the false logic of the preacher make us ask with Tully, "An tu dialecticis ne imbutus quidem es?"—have you never studied the art of reasoning? We trust therefore, that a brief review of Mr. Mill's work will not be inappropriate to the pages of a theological journal. But we must first say a few words of some other recent treatises on the same, or a similar subject.

Whately's *Logic*, originally published in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, takes Aristotle as its guide, and maintains that the syllogism is the type, or the formula of all reasoning. Logic, says Whately, is the science and art of Reasoning; all reasoning must from its very nature be syllogistic; and therefore a complete exposition of the syllogism is a complete treatise on Logic strictly so called. He accordingly gives a clear and full exposition of the syllogism, and of the fallacies arising from a violation of its rules. Here he conceives the business of logic to be ended, and in his subsequent remarks on the province of reasoning and discovery of truth, he makes induction to be, so far as it is argumentative, syllogistic; so far as not syl-

* *A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive; being a Connected View of the Principles of Evidence and the Methods of Scientific Investigation.* By JOHN STUART MILL. London. 1843. 2 vols. pp. 1204. New York. 1846. 8vo. pp. 593.

logistic, not argumentative. That which may be learned of nature, without syllogisms, depends, according to Whately, altogether on the genius of the man, and his processes cannot be reduced to rule. This would make a proper logic of induction impossible, and the only thing which could aid the student of nature would be a better education of the observing powers.

The only new truths which man can attain, according to Whately, are those discovered by sense or revealed by testimony. For those truths which are unfolded by reasoning were contained in the premises, and he who had admitted the premises had admitted the deduced truths. It must be confessed, Whately adds, that the man who admitted the premises, did not know that he knew the deduced truths. Nevertheless, that he did know them, is manifest both from the nature of the syllogism and from the fact, that when you teach a man to deduce them, he does not thank you for the information, but merely remarks, "True, I did not think of that," implying that he might have thought of it.

Strange doctrine this, that the splendid deductions of mathematics are not new truths, that the "*Disquisitiones Arithmeticae*" of Gauss, for example, contain nothing absolutely new to any man who has but acknowledged that the sums of equals are equal, and the differences of equals are equal. Strange doctrine, — however it may be explained, and whatever sense may be put upon the words "new" and "knew;" in whatever way it may be said, that the theorems of the Calculus are not new to a boy beginning to study them, that he knew them before.

Mr. Whewell was not contented with logic as applied merely to the exposition of the syllogism. Perceiving, what no man can fail to see, that the mathematical and physical sciences are a far more splendid monument of man's reason, than any thing which has been attained or is likely to be attained in the departments of theology and metaphysics, or even political economy and law, he saw the necessity of making his analysis of the reasoning power include an explanation of the processes which had there been so successful. Yet, awed by the manner in which logicians had declared the syllogism to embrace all reasoning, he dared not call his work a logic, but only "*A Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences.*"

Whewell saw clearly the incompleteness, and many of the other defects, of Bacon's "*Novum Organon*." That work was a first essay, made at a time when physical science was in its infancy, made by a man whose habits of mind, whose bold fancy, and wide sweeping range of thought somewhat unfitted him for the work, and made, too, amid the multifarious and distracting cares of a busy life. Yet Whewell was by no means ungrateful either towards Bacon, or towards a contemporary laborer in the same field, Sir J. F. W. Herschel. He only sought to make additions to their fair structure, and complete its beauty.

Whewell's Philosophy may be termed "transcendental." By this we mean, that he asserts the power of the mind to originate ideas independently of sensation, and believes that ideas so originated have objective realities corresponding thereto. His definition of "induction" makes it—the inducing an idea among a mass of facts to collocate and arrange them. Accordingly he considers it the first business in induction, to gather together the facts on the subject, either from reading, or what is better, from observation; the second, to make some hypothesis respecting them; and the third, to see whether the hypothesis will lead to the results already known as facts. If it do lead to these, and to none inconsistent with observed facts, the induction, according to Whewell, is complete; the hypothesis which was induced, or brought in to explain the facts, must itself be regarded as a fact. Hence the prime requisite of a physical philosopher is, that he have clear and appropriate conceptions:—clear, that he may distinctly see to what results his hypotheses will lead; and appropriate, that those results may be the observed facts.

Such is the whole business of induction, according to Whewell; and he attempts to show it by the history of the physical sciences. Kepler, says, he introduced the conception of an ellipse, etc. among the positions of the planets, and found it accounted for them all; Newton introduced the conception of a force proportional to the square of the distance, and found it explained Kepler's laws; and so in like manner with all other great discoveries since the world began.

But the conceptions formed by the mind, and introduced among its ideas of sensation to school them, are not so

numerous as might at first sight appear. They can be reduced, even according to Mr. Whewell, to a few leading ones in each branch of science, and a few general ones applicable to all sciences. For instance, there are the axioms of Mathematics, which reign over the phenomena of space and time, and the notion of *cause* or *origin*, and *purpose* or *designed end*, which are still more universal. Then in Mechanics there is the idea of force, and a number of axioms respecting it, — that force is proportional to velocity, that the resultant of two forces is the diagonal of their parallelogram, etc. In Chemistry there is the idea of affinity, of chemical quality, of atomic proportion, etc.; in Electricity and its kindred sciences is the idea of polarity; in the Classificatory sciences, the idea of a type, etc. Part of Mr. Whewell's book, and perhaps as valuable a part as any, consists in a collection of aphorisms and axioms; and this is also the most distinctly characteristic portion of it. For he does not use "axiom" in Bacon's sense — of a truth gained by wide generalization; nor in the etymological sense — of a received opinion; but in the narrower signification — of a self-evident proposition. Whether there be any such things as self-evident propositions, is a question which will come up presently, but certainly Whewell greatly exaggerates the number of those that can with any show of reason claim to be such, not only in his "Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences," but also in the "Mechanical Euclid," a little text-book prepared by him.

M. Comte, whose work* we notice chiefly because it is so frequently quoted with great respect by Mr. Mill, maintains that the tendency of science is always towards Atheism. The human mind, he thinks, develops itself, both in the race and in the individual, in three stages. The first is the theological. Then every motion is referred to some unseen spirit. All things that change or move are divine; yea, the very name, deity, signifies "the mover." This theological state goes on towards the perfection of its lie, which it reaches when it ascribes all things to one ever and everywhere present Person, whose will is the cause of all things. The second of these stages is the metaphysical. Then men begin to forget or outgrow their Deism, and seek

* Cours de Philosophie Positive.

for occult qualities in matter to produce phenomena. Then the magnet is said to *attract* iron, and the sun the earth; then compounds are formed by elective *affinities*, and "opium causes sleep by virtue of a soporific quality." This metaphysical state moves on to the perfection of its lie, which it reaches when it has reduced all phenomena to one single law of attraction. Being in itself false, though it is the transition state between the greater falsehood of theology and the state of positive knowledge, it holds some communion with theology, and hence arises a bastard philosophy, inheriting falsehood from each of its parents, the lying philosophy of a lie, namely, theological metaphysics. All metaphysics are in their essence false. For the only foundation of any knowledge is observation, and when we transcend observation we rise into Egyptian darkness, and there form lies to our own fancy, deeming them truths. Nor must psychology be included in observation. Psychology is as false as any metaphysics. For it is plain that we cannot see another's mind, but only his actions; and equally plain that we cannot see our own minds. The eye cannot see itself; the mind cannot be operating, intent on the object of its operation, and at the same time watch itself.

Finally man arrives at the third, the Positive state. Here, becoming wearied with his striving after the winds, he lays hold of that which he can reach. In the positive state he is content with classifying facts observed by the senses. The law of gravitation, for instance, becomes merely an observed law of motion and chemistry, observed laws of combination. Force is considered only in its effects; its origin, and the question of its existence are given up as beyond our reach. Mental science is put away as unattainable, or unintelligible. Ethics are discarded, and Social Physics introduced in their stead. The Social Physics of Comte is simply a classification of observed facts in men's outward conduct, and the deduction of practical laws therefrom. Motives are occult causes, out of the reach of science. This state of positive knowledge will move onward to the perfection of its truth, which it will reach when it has attained, if it ever should, one formula in which it can express all the facts of man's knowledge.

Such is the system of Auguste Comte, one of the most original thinkers and boldest atheists of the present cen-

tury, whose hand is against every man and every man's hand against him; whose development of his principles is so thorough, that he seems to make the very atheists around him but superstitious religionists. It is his writings that seem to have made the deepest impression on the mind of Mill, and to have served as a model on which he formed his style of thought and even of expression. But Mill has not blindly followed Comte. The atheism of the Frenchman was too bold for English ears, too bold even for J. S. Mill, and it appears in Mill's work almost in the garb of religion. True it is, that Mill carefully conceals his religious views; he is writing a book on Logic, that is, as he says, on the laws of evidence, and therefore he has nothing to do with particular points to be proved. Yet it is manifest that, although he believes in the utility of virtue and in the happiness arising from a good conscience and a benevolent heart, he does not think that the laws of evidence justify a man in believing in the existence of God, or in a real distinction between right and wrong.

His book being entitled a System of Logic, he first endeavors to show how much the term, logic, should cover. Reasoning, he thinks, consists in inferring one truth from another. Logicians, to be sure, have said it was inferring a particular case from a general statement, but surely this is false. The burnt child fears the fire, not, surely, from having first said, "All fire will do what the fire which burnt me did;" much less from having risen to a more general truth, that "laws of causation are unchanging in their effects." No! the child simply says, "This fire *looks* like that which burnt me, therefore it will *feel* like it." Does not the child here reason? And wherever reasoning is, it is the province of logic to step in and decide on the validity of the process. Logic is not the science of belief, but it is the science of proof. Its business is to decide, not whether a belief be true, nor whether the evidence for a fact be real, but whether the evidence be sufficient to prove the fact. Deciding thus on the sufficiency of evidence, it is as useful to a man in the formation of his own opinions as it is in examining the arguments of others.

Language being indissolubly associated in our minds with our thoughts, we find it impossible even in thought to

reason without the use of language. As a preliminary, therefore, to the science of logic, Mr. Mill examines language, gives a list of nameable things, and treats of propositions. His remarks on this subject indicate deep thought, but involve some errors.* The remainder of the first Book is taken up by a mixture of excellent remarks upon Classification and Definition, and singular misapprehensions of points of fact.

Book second is on Reasoning. In this Mill gives good grounds for his extended use of the word, and offers a just exposition of the function and value of the syllogism. The admission by Whately and other excellent defenders of the syllogism, that it cannot reveal truth, but merely prevents our ideas from being inconsistent with themselves, and the objection made by Campbell and other writers, that the syllogism is in itself always a *petitio principii*, do not destroy the value of that form of reasoning, but they show it to be strangely misunderstood.

The major premiss always predicates something of a class. But what is a class? Merely the sum of individuals, who each have certain attributes *connoted* by the name of the class. The minor premiss predicates these attributes of certain individuals, that is, brings them under the class, and what is predicated of the class becomes predicated of them.

* Strange it is that men will continue to call particles, "not names, but parts of a name." One would think Horne Tooke's fine ridicule would have forever silenced such language, and that since his day, propositions, conjunctions, articles and adverbs would have been acknowledged as being really names of ideas.

Mill revives the distinction between the connotation and the denotation of names. A name denotes the objects to which it is applied, and connotes their definitive attributives, that is, those attributes the possession of which will make a thing rank among the denoted objects. Then, having made language to be a list of nameable things, he proceeds to classify them. First, says he, there are Feelings or states of consciousness, which may be classed as Sensations, Thoughts, Emotions, and Volitions. Secondly, Substances or entities, of which there are two classes, Body, the cause of sensations, and Mind, the subject of feelings. Thirdly, Attributes. Of the attributes of mind he does not speak. The attributes of body are, first, qualities, i. e. power of producing sensations; secondly, relations, viz. of likeness, of time, of place, of quantity.

Now if these are nameable things, what are the propositions that can be made of them? We may assert, first, their existence, secondly, their order in place, thirdly, their order in time, fourthly, their causes or effects, fifthly, their resemblance. Every proposition is the assertion of some one of these five things, — at least every real proposition is, for the copula, "is," is used sometimes for the verb "means," and the proposition is then only verbal.

This is the analysis of the syllogism; and does it make it to be a process of reasoning? Not at all; but merely a statement of the results of reasoning, that is, the results of the reasoning by which the major term is proved to be an attribute of the middle term, and the minor term is proved to have those attributes which the middle term connotes. The syllogism is merely, then, a statement of reasoning that has formerly been recorded, or rather, the results of which have been recorded in a general form.

The second Book closes with an analysis of the Demonstrative Sciences, and in the third book our author treats of Induction. This he defines to be generalization from experience. The generalizations in regard to space and number are complete and invariable. The triangle will have the sum of its angles equal to two right angles, whether it be made of tin or copper, of a bent pin or by lines joining the fixed stars. Two and three make five, whether they be grains of sand or constellations in the heavens. The inductions here are complete.

But it is in the succession of phenomena that we feel most interest. And there is one induction in regard to succession, that bears this character of universality and invariability. It is, that every effect has a cause, that is, that the antecedents of a phenomenon contain among them some circumstances which are always followed by that phenomenon. For by "cause" in Mill's philosophy is meant an unconditional antecedent.

For the prediction of phenomena we only need a knowledge of their causes, and it is a law of causation that can alone give us any confidence in any prediction or in any explanation of phenomena. Hence the main business of Induction consists in the discovery of causes, that is, in "singling out from among the circumstances which precede or follow a phenomenon, those with which it is really connected by an invariable law."*

* Mr. Mill gives five canons for making this discovery; but speaks of them as four.

First Canon, or "Method of Agreement."

"If two or more instances of the phenomenon under investigation have only one circumstance in common, the circumstance in which alone all the instances agree, is the cause, (or effect) of the given phenomenon."
—p. 224.

Second Canon, or "Method of Difference."

"If an instance in which the phenomenon under investigation occurs,

After some excellent chapters on the deductive method, empirical laws, the doctrine of chances, and other subjects, (on which however our author makes a few mistakes), he enters into an examination of the evidence of the law of universal causation, and finds, — most lame and impotent conclusion! — that it rests upon an induction by simple enumeration, and hence is to be relied on only within the limits of our present sphere of knowledge. And so Mr. Mill has been making all induction rest upon the law of causation, the only object being to find causes, and then finds the law of causation itself resting upon a simple enumeration of cases. And the induction by simple enumeration, condemned in such strong terms by Bacon and all thinkers since his day, Mr. Mill among the rest, is by that same Mr. Mill made the most valid of all inductions and the foundation of all the rest!

It will not do; and however Mr. Mill may be able to

and an instance in which it does not occur, have every circumstance save one in common, that one occurring only in the former; the circumstance in which alone the two instances differ, is the effect, or cause, or a necessary part of the cause, of the phenomenon."—p. 225.

Joint Canon (3d), or "Joint Method of Agreement and Difference."

"If two or more instances in which the phenomenon occurs have only one circumstance in common, while two or more instances in which it does not occur have nothing in common save the absence of that circumstance; the circumstance in which alone the two sets of instances differ, is the effect, or cause, or a necessary part of the cause, of the phenomenon."—p. 229.

Third Canon (4th), or "Method of Residues."

"Subduct from any phenomenon such part as is known by previous inductions to be the effect of certain antecedents; and the residue of the phenomenon is the effect of the remaining antecedents."—p. 230.

Fourth Canon (5th), or "Method of Concomitant Variations."

"Whatever phenomenon varies in any manner whenever another phenomenon varies in some particular manner, is either a cause or an effect of that phenomenon, or is connected with it through some fact of causation."—p. 233.

These four methods, says Mill, "are the only possible modes of experimental inquiry, of direct induction *a posteriori*, as distinguished from deduction; at least I know not nor am able to conceive any others." "These, then, with such assistance as can be obtained from deduction, compose the available resources of the human mind for ascertaining the laws of the succession of phenomena."

A discussion follows on the comparative value of the four methods. The Method of Agreement is never free from an ambiguity. It evidently can only discover a cause of the effect, and if many causes combine, or if many causes are each able to produce it, the Method of agreement leaves them undiscovered. The Joint Method loses some of this uncertainty, and the Method of Difference is the most certain method of all.

conceive of a state in which things came without an apparent cause, that is, without fixed antecedents, no man of any thought, not Mr. Mill himself, can conceive of things coming without a real cause, that is, something which made them come.

But, says Mill, the fact, that we cannot conceive of the nonexistence of a thing, does not prove its existence. Very true it does not *prove* it, if by proving it is meant making its belief equal in certainty to the testimony of consciousness. But it does prove it, if by proving is meant raising its belief to a certainty equal to the testimony of sensation. For sensation proves the existence of a sensible object only on supposition of the veracity of our senses, and in like manner the judgment of the reason proves the truth of anything which it conceives as necessarily existing. Else must the soundness of the reason be impeached; the soundness of reason, — unless the soundness of the particular judgment may be impeached; and for impeaching the judgment acknowledged rules may be framed. And to this point the examples brought by Mill may be reduced. He says, that certain things once held inconceivable may be now conceived. Ay! but would a logical law admitting the inconceivableness of a beginning without a cause admit also the inconceivableness of antipodes, or of gravity without contact?

The truth is, that Mill, in his love of physical science and hatred of metaphysical quibbles, has overlooked the really transcendental element of knowledge. The notion of *cause* comes not by induction of simple enumeration, but from the consciousness of power, the consciousness that we do *cause* in the highest sense. The *universality of the law* of causation is believed on the strength of an induction, but even that is not an induction of simple enumeration. The knowledge of cause coming from the mind, its universality, is proved by an induction drawn also from the consciousness of action, the consciousness that our will is the cause of the movement of things about us.

Mr. Mill having treated of the inductions based on the law of causation, considers the remaining laws of nature.*

* He had before said that five assertions might be made, and five only; Existence; order in Place; order in Time; Causation; and Resemblance. But Causation he afterwards defined as a species of order in Time, and of

We refrain from any remarks upon Book fourth, which treats of operations subsidiary to induction, or upon Book fifth, concerning Fallacies, not because they are unworthy of notice, but because it would detain us too long from the general subject.

In his sixth Book, on the logic of the Moral Sciences, Mr. Mill endeavors to show that the backward state of the moral sciences can only be remedied by applying to them the methods of physical science, duly extended and generalized. For, says he, human actions and character are subject to the law of causality, and although our results may be always to be received as being subject to disturbances, yet laws of mind can be discovered by induction,

this he has he thinks sufficiently spoken; having shown the nature of the evidence on which propositions relating to Coexistence and Sequence rest, and the processes of investigation by which they are discovered and proved. There remain three classes of facts; Existence, order in Place, and Resemblance; in regard to which the same questions are now to be resolved.

Regarding Existence however he says but little, and that little is false. For he makes sensible qualities the only proof of existence, and gives us no canons to judge when that evidence is sufficient. Surely sensation alone is not proof enough, else the snakes in the room of a man in delirium tremens exist. Surely sensation is not the only proof of existence, for then nothing but Julius Cæsar's body can be proved to exist and his states of consciousness cannot be proved at all, but only his actions. And if Mr. Mill thinks that the inductive Logic has in regard to simple existence no knots to untie, it is because he has narrowed the ground of Logic and made it embrace less than the science of Proof.

He next takes up Resemblance, and decides that Logic has to do only with resemblance in quantity, i. e. mathematical resemblance. On what ground he does this is best known to himself. Chemists, physicians, botanists, zoologists, politicians, theologians, find that their reasoning has to do with very different resemblances, resemblances of quality, and their reasoning as much needs canons of logic as the mathematician's.

Finally comes order in Place, which of course is referred to geometry, and thus he concludes that the logic of causation and the logic of mathematics include the whole subject. In his discussion of the logic of mathematics he shows much acumen and good sense, and yet his whole reasoning is vitiated by his adherence to sense and virtual denial of Space and Time. The propositions of geometry are not propositions concerning material forms, but concerning the space which matter occupies.

And in the classification of functions, we cannot allow that Mr. Mill's list of simple functions is correct. Every simple function of x , says he, can be reduced to one of the following simple forms: $x+a$, $x-a$, ax , $x\div a$, x^a , a/x , $\log. x$, and perhaps $\sin. x$, and $\sin[-1].x$. To which of these forms can Mr. Mill reduce $d_c a x$, $f_a x$, $\xi_a x$, and the conjugate of x ? The fact is, that new simple functions of x are discovered on the invention of every new calculus, for which they serve as a foundation; and can no more be reduced to Mr. Mill's simple functions than those functions can be resolved into each other.

at least by approximate generalization, and from them can be deduced a science of the formation of character. Social life too can give birth to a system of science, and although its laws can be learned only by observation, they can nevertheless be so far verified as to be of great service.

In treating this part of his subject Mill uses the terms Chemical method, Abstract method, Physical method, Historical method. This shows that he saw the fundamental varieties in reasoning, which make the method of one science inapplicable to another. Yet those varieties he has not touched upon, but has merged them all in his canons for discovering causes.

In regard to this concluding part of Mr. Mill's work we have but little to say, since, as we conceive, he entirely mistakes his ground, by supposing that laws of causation are alone the object of inquiry. For it is not causes only, but resemblances and existences, which are sought in social sciences, and although Mr. Mill's remarks are very just and of great value as far as they go, we are struck here more than ever with the deficiencies of his views.

For instance, in his approbation of Comte's generalization, that the human mind is first theological, next metaphysical, finally positive, how plainly is the narrowness of his view exposed. Cannot the "theological" errors of young children and infant nations be explained by reference to the better established facts of "fallacies of generalization?" And the positive state, is it accompanied by doubts of God's existence? Is not the earlier fallacious generalization corrected, and does not the belief in one God remain as a firm, immovable induction? In whose mind, save Auguste Comte's or John Stuart Mill's, did the metaphysical, much less the positive state ever exclude the idea of God, a prime Cause of all things, visible and invisible, whose will is the source of all quality, power and motion, nay of all beings, material or spiritual, to whom all honor is due, and on whom all the affections of the heart fasten as the only good and holy One?

In taking a general view of Mr. Mill's book, the attention is most forcibly arrested by his treatment of the doctrine of causation. A cause, he says, need be considered only as "the assemblage of phenomena, which occurring, some other phenomenon invariably commences, or has its origin."

That is, the law of cause and effect is but a law of invariable and unconditional sequence, and implies nothing of power. This law he would have extend also to mental phenomena. Hence we have, even in our own actions, nothing which really implies the existence of power. We have, as Comte endeavors to show, nothing on which we can really build, except the succession of states of consciousness. Yet the successive sensations imply the existence of the outward world, and, as Mill and Comte both agree, our positive knowledge becomes that of the successive and coexistent states of the material world. Further than this they are both unwilling to go. The human mind as manifested in action and thought, and the world revealed to the senses, — this is the extent of their field. Occult qualities, powers of any kind, divine or human, efficient causes, — these are matters for the metaphysician to handle, and of the metaphysician Mill thinks almost as meanly as Comte.

But how arbitrary is this curtailment of the powers of the mind. If we believe in the existence of matter as the cause of our sensations, on what ground do we believe it? The only positive knowledge is the succession of states of consciousness. Mr. Mill smells something, he is conscious of a color which he calls yellow, of a form which he calls round, or rather of a certain diversity of light and shade, and of a feeling which he calls soft, and he says here is an orange. Why does he believe it? Why does he reject Berkeley's theory? Or even on Berkeley's theory, why does Mill proceed to eat his orange in full confidence of finding a pleasant taste, a muscular sensation of liquid passing down his throat, and a reviving of his whole frame? Why, to be sure, he trusts in his senses. If he gives up his trust in them, insanity and madness follow.

This is well enough; but let us ask him another question. When he had written his book, why did he publish it? Why was he convinced of its truth and importance? Because he had confidence in the soundness of his own mental faculties. The successive sensations, thoughts, emotions, and volitions in his mind, he was convinced, did not deceive him; he strictly *knew* that of which he was conscious. Very well; but we are conscious of power, and this consciousness does not deceive us.

Indeed on Mill's own ground, whence do we get the

idea of efficient cause? Not from the outward world, for there it does not exist. And if from the inner world, it is either from a consciousness of our own exertion of power, or from the operation of the laws of our nature. If therefore we deny the existence of efficient causes, we deny either the veracity of consciousness or the truthfulness of our nature, in either of which cases what ground is there left for any positive knowledge? To this reasoning Mill might object, that men conceived of hippogriffs and centaurs, why not of power, without making the existence necessary. But hippogriffs are *combinations*, not *creations*. Let Mill conceive of a new color, or imagine a sixth sense, and then he may say that power is nonexistent.

The very laws of induction which Mill acknowledges, (we do not now refer to the canons for discovering causes, but to the higher laws of induction by which the law of causation was established), are as amply sufficient to prove the being of a personal, living God, as they are to establish the law of causation, or the axioms of geometry.

Matter unorganized is inert. This induction is one of the widest and most firmly established. The majority of the motions of organized life are produced by volitions. Volitions have the power of moving also unorganized matter. The motions, which unorganized matter takes in obedience to volitions, are generally of the character distinguished as means to an end. When they are of this character, the volition always has a motive.

Matter is inert, yet there are a thousand natural motions. Are these exceptions to the law of inertia? No; else that law would rest on an invalid induction. Then they arise from a volition. These natural motions are mostly of the character of means to an end. Then the volition has a motive.

Now we defy Mr. Mill or Auguste Comte to show any reason why these inductions do not prove the being of God just as clearly as the watch proves the watchmaker, nay, just as clearly as the living voice of Comte in his lectures would prove his existence.

We confess there is one light in which the Positive view of science is correct, namely, that we have no proof of occult qualities in matter. We can prove a living God; not one who, ages ago, appointed attraction and repulsion his vice-roys, and may now for aught we know be dead.

Mr. Mill's book is on the whole, however, the best work that has appeared on the subject of Logic. Constrained, as he is, on many points by narrow prejudices, betraying, as he does, a want of minute accuracy in several branches of science, and lacking that comprehensiveness of view which is necessary for one who reviews the whole field of human reasoning, he has nevertheless unfolded the reasoning process with much strength and beauty. His style is a model of clearness and precision, though it is lamentably deficient in conciseness and energy. Although narrow in his prejudices, he deals justly and kindly with those from whom he differs.

The study of Logic, in its wide sense, as used by Mill, lies at the very foundation of all liberal education, and for this reason we rejoice to see a renewed attention to the subject in both the English Universities and our own. The business of man has been said to be that of drawing inferences. The whole conscious state of thought is a train of reasoning. From childhood to age, whether attending to the most minute affairs of daily life, or to the highest duties of the statesman, the artist, the engineer, the theologian or the philosopher, we are still reasoning, drawing inferences, and all things from the least to the greatest depend upon the correctness of our conclusions.

This consideration sets in a strong light the value of a proper cultivation of the reasoning power, and although this cultivation may be gained by mere exercise, just as any other power or art is gained by trial, it is evident that we can best train and develop the reason when we understand its laws and manner of action. Besides, there is nothing but a thorough system of logic, thoroughly learned, that can save a man from the grossest mistakes, when he attempts to reason on a subject with which he is unacquainted.

Amid the variety of subjects on which the human mind may exercise itself, there are no two in which the style of reasoning is precisely the same. But the man who has studied only one branch of science, or pursued one course of life, is apt to imagine that all reasoning is to be tested by his methods. He that has been used altogether to reasonings of a general nature, will be unwilling to submit questions even of motion to algebraical analysis. "Do you suppose," said an intelligent friend to us while we were

putting one of his theories in regard to a compound barometer into an equation, in order to show him the fallacy of his reasoning ; "do you suppose the Lord has made quicksilver and oil to run according to your mathematical formulas?"

In like manner one who has been used only to mathematical reasoning is apt to deny the validity of inductions, and to believe only points which can be directly deduced from incontrovertible axioms. The anecdote of Laplace introducing the spirit of the infinitely small into the politics and governments of France, is well known. Nor are those accustomed to inductive reasoning always fitted for every branch of induction. The chemist may be wholly unfitted for geological pursuits, and the politician be unable to appreciate the labors of the botanist.

It is this inability to appreciate the reasoning of other men, which constitutes narrowness of mind. The truly great man is one who holds sympathy with all true minds, and understands all kinds of reasoning. Hence it is that the great man presents to different men different appearances, as their minds may be capable of understanding different parts of his labors. Socrates is described by Xenophon as a man of sound practical wisdom, whose philosophy rests on observation and experience. But Plato represents him rather as a man of deep reflection, whose philosophy is built upon the teachings of his own soul. Socrates was himself both. When he met the sophisms of Gorgias, and would prove to this ranting logic-chopper the reality of right, the baseness of sin, the meanness of selfishness, and expose to him the falsehood of his own philosophy and the shallowness of his thoughts, he met him on his own chosen field, and refuted him by arguments drawn from the consciousness and inward teachings of the soul. When, on the other hand, he met the atheist and the sensualist, whose lives were in the outward world, and whose souls were dead within them, he convicted them, not by metaphysic subtlety which they could not have comprehended, but by arguments drawn from that outward world which was so real to them. But a narrow-minded man, a little soul, could not have done this. Xenophon, perhaps, could not have refuted Gorgias, because Xenophon did not understand the type or style of reasoning which metaphysi-

cal questions demand. Plato, perhaps, could not have instructed Alcibiades, nor have led Aristodemus to piety, because Plato would have misunderstood and despised the reasoning by which the one justified himself in sensuality, and the other fortified himself in atheism.

Now it is an undeniable fact, that men are differently qualified for different branches of study. Each man has peculiar tastes, which if indulged will lead him to adopt some particular line of thought or conduct. It is thus, from a natural gift enabling a man to excel in some one style of reasoning, that he too often allows himself to become exclusive in the use of it, and he applies it to branches to which it is foreign. A mathematician meddles with theology or politics, and foolishly attempts to demonstrate questions of faith, or the policy of measures of Government. Or the metaphysician steps in, as Stewart, and says to the mathematician, your province is in hypotheses and diagrams, you have no right to meddle with mechanics and astronomy, for they belong to the province of things. Let the sublime height to which the mathematician has led the natural philosopher be his answer.

Shall we then blame Stewart for speaking of mechanics, and say to him, "*Ne supra crepidam sutor?*" By no means. But he ought not to have spoken till he first understood the logic of demonstrative reasoning. Say not, "let the theologian be a theologian, and the chemist a chemist, and the politician a politician;" for then none could enjoy another's labor, and the world would be divided into different classes of the mentally deformed. Let, rather, every man learn as much of the logic of every science and as many of its interesting features, as to make him sympathize with its enthusiasts in their joy, to fit him for receiving the fruit of their labors, to teach him not to apply to subjects connected with it an improper kind of reasoning, and to make him perceive when others introduce its reasoning into his own branch; let him learn thus much of every science, and then apply himself to the one for which he is fitted.

Now the logic which will produce this ennobling and enlarging effect on the student, must be one of a different kind from any yet published. Even Mr. Mill's, wide as is its field, is narrow in comparison with the real extent of the subject. In those six hundred octavo pages he might have

written many times as much, and to immensely greater advantage.

Mill asserts that there are five things which can be affirmed or denied, to wit, existence, sequence, coexistence, causation, and resemblance. Now if five things can be affirmed and denied, surely five things can be proved and disproved. Yet Mill's canons of induction give us merely the means of proving causation. Where are his canons for proving the other points? Even upon his own ground his logic is deficient. It should have contained canons for testing the evidence for existence, for sequence, for coexistence, and for resemblance.

But we believe that a better foundation for extending the legitimate field of logic is found in Whewell's enunciation of the fundamental ideas of each science. Let Whewell's doctrine, or so much of it as is true, be stated in the proper form, and the subject be treated in Mill's cool and common sense way, and a system of Logic will be formed that will completely cover the whole ground, will serve as a true basis of liberal education, and be of vast service in guarding men from the dangers of narrow feelings and contracted views.

Let, first, the general form of reasoning and of induction be stated, and such rules be given as are really applicable to the whole subject. Next, let reasoning be divided according to the subject matter into three great divisions, — reasoning upon space and time, reasoning upon matter, reasoning upon mind. These divisions may not be perfect, and it may be sometimes difficult to decide to which of the three you shall refer a particular subject, yet in general they are distinct, and correspond to three kinds, or types of reasoning, for which no distinct names have been invented, but which may perhaps be called the Demonstrative, the Inductive, and the Metaphysical types of Reasoning. Then under each of these heads may be subdivisions for the separate sciences. And under each science let the objects of the science, and the peculiar canons to guide the reasoner therein, be given.*

* For instance, under Space and Time come the different mathematical branches. First, we have Geometry, the science of position and magnitude in space. The fundamental ideas of this science are distance and direction. And as Mill says of sensations, that the laws of motion cannot

The objection may be raised, that such a system of Logic would be in fact an encyclopedia of human knowledge,

explain color, that each sense must have its own laws, so is it equally true, that the laws of reasoning on other ideas cannot explain nor assist reasoning respecting distance and direction. Mr. Mill's canons for discovering causation are here out of place.

Under this head of Geometry, then, a complete work on Logic would give the canons by which the phenomena of distance and direction are to be discovered. These canons are gained by generalizations according to the more universal rules to be contained in the first part of the book. Whether in pure Geometry any other canon is needed than, that figures capable of coincident superposition are equal, is a question which might admit of doubt.

The science of pure Time has never been fully developed. Hamilton made some essays towards it and partially developed its fundamental ideas.

We have here also Algebra, the science of Quantity; Fluxions, the science of Motion; Arithmetic, the science of Number; each having its peculiar fundamental ideas, which it is the object of the science fully to develop; each having also its peculiar canons of reasoning, derived by the more general kind of reasoning from its universal facts. It might be a question, whether the Residual Calculus, and the Imaginary, require any different canons from those of Algebra.

But we think it manifest, that neither Whately's exposition of the syllogism, nor Whewell's discussion of appropriate conceptions, nor Mill's canons for discovering causation are a sufficient exposition of the nature of mathematical reasoning, and that a logic is greatly deficient, which does not analyze that reasoning which is acknowledged by all to be the most splendid work of the human intellect. The folly of making all mathematical reasoning mere syllogism, is too great to be put forth seriously by any mathematician. The arithmetic of sines is no more included in the definition of a circle, than potassium in the definition of potash. The residual calculus of Cauchy was as new to the greatest mathematician as to a mere school-boy. The truths respecting Space and Time are as really truths, and are as really *discovered* by mathematical reasoning, as any facts of sense are truths, and discovered by sensation.

Under the Inductive type of reasoning would come the different branches of physical science. Here Mill's canons of causation, evidently out of place in the demonstrative type, will come in play. Yet they are by no means the only canons which are needed. In mechanics, it is granted, there is nothing wanted but these and demonstrative reasoning. In the simpler parts of mechanics, we need, in developing the fundamental idea of *force*, only a demonstration like that of the old geometry. But as we proceed to higher problems, especially to the motions of fluids, our reasoning changes its character and assumes more of the inductive type. Still we seek only causes; and Mill's canons joined with deductions are sufficient. But look at another physical science, chemistry. Here in developing the fundamental idea of *quality*, we seek not for causes, but for chemical likeness and chemical identity. How are these to be reached by canons for discovering a cause? Mill's canons embrace, then, only a part of chemical reasoning, for they give no aid in discovering the objects at which chemistry aims. A complete system of logic will then include under its head of chemistry canons for discovering likeness and identity, in the chemical sense of those words.

and would exceed in bulk all moderate bounds. But as to size, it might easily be comprised in as small a bulk as either Mr. Mill's or Mr. Whewell's work. And an encyclopedia it would not be. It would contain only the fundamental ideas of each science, and the fundamental canons of investigation. The facts of the science would not be introduced, the subject matter, as Whately styles it, would be left out of view, except so far as the very character of the reasoning itself depended upon it. Inductive reasoning is capable only of the vaguest and most general exposition, unless the subject matter be in some measure taken into account. Even Mill takes subject matter into consideration, for he supposes the object of the reasoning to be to find causes. Of induction in general he was forced to say but little; he introduced at once a subject matter, causation, and gave the canons for reasoning upon that. He was justified in so doing. But should he not, like Whewell, have introduced a notice of the logic on other subjects? If the

Again, in the study of organization there is an idea very distinct from that of cause, namely, purpose or end. Lord Bacon sneers at the investigation of purposes in organized beings, and says that the eyelashes grow not to defend the eye, but because of the nourishing moisture of the tears. Certain of the French philosophers also have endeavored to treat of physiology only under the aspect of cause and effect. Yet the attempt is futile. The question of purpose comes as irresistibly to the mind in the contemplation of organized matter, as the question of cause in the contemplation of unorganized. The main business of physiology, or at least its distinctive and peculiar business, is to discover not the causes, but the purposes of the different functions of organic life. The teeth are equally the cause of crushing food, and of the toothache, but it is solemn trifling to say they were equally designed for both; it is introducing the metaphysical, or else the mechanical type of reasoning into a subject foreign to it.

The axiom that every organ is designed for some function is as well established, as the one that every effect has a cause; and is full as worthy to be made the foundation of a set of logical canons. It has been the fundamental axiom, which has led to all the greatest improvements in zoology and botany, and it will be the guide to all the most valuable results in future. While in other sciences, such as that of chemistry or mechanics, the axiom would be out of place, and the search for a purpose there would *generally* (not always) be vain.

Let us pass now to the third type of reasoning — the Metaphysical. Here again the sub-types would be as numerous as the different sciences. One set of canons would judge of testimony of men, another would relate to the affairs of wealth, a third to government, a fourth to mental phenomena of thought, a fifth to different emotions, and so on. These again would be subdivided, and a logic given of Ethics, and of Æsthetics, of Psychology, of Law, of Political Economy, of Legislation. Perhaps, with the permission of Messrs. Mill and Comte, we might even have a logic of Theology.

remarks already made (including those contained in the note) do not produce conviction on this subject, let us examine Mr. Mill's own example. The blackness of all crows does not make it very improbable that there should be a white crow, but the form of man makes it impossible that we should find men with their heads below their shoulders. Mill asks why, and answers that it is because the colors of animals are more variable than their forms. We deny that this is the reason, and even if it were, how is this generalization connected with causation? With another and higher induction it *is* connected, and it is this that gives value to the one generalization, and not to the other. We see the *purpose* why the head is on the shoulders, but we do not see the *purpose* of the color of a crow. Hence we are certain that all men's heads are on their shoulders, although we do not see the "cause" of it; and hence also we are not certain that all crows are black, and might not be, even if we knew the cause of their blackness. If therefore Mill introduced the subject matter, cause, he should also, even to explain his own examples, have introduced the subject matter, purpose or design.

But again, in regard to the encyclopedic character of such a treatise on logic, Mr. Whewell in his *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences* has mentioned each branch of science separately, and yet has not destroyed the unity of his work.

We must likewise remember that, formidable as the list of sciences appears, the reasoning would be marked out in three general heads, and some of the sciences would require very few separate remarks, the reasoning conforming closely to the general type of that department.

If such views of logic be not adopted and made the regulators of the thoughts of men, we see little hope of an intellectual regeneration of the world. Men will still wrangle about matters above their comprehension, and leave unnoticed the lessons which the Creator would teach them. We shall still have sensationalists, making the present world their God, scorning the arguments of faith and piety, and by their rejection of religion making themselves and others outcast orphans in the world. We shall still have transcendental religionists, puffing themselves with vain pride, leading silly women captive, and sillier men, and treating

as beneath their transcendent genius such vulgar things as God's stars, "made to make dirt cheap," or God's flowers, or God's beasts and living creatures, or the still more vulgar things that pertain to outward comfort, such as machinery, steamships, and rail-roads. We shall still have even Christians splitting on the rock of false logic, each one carrying to the Scriptures his own type of reasoning, one attempting to demonstrate a science of sanctity, another to make inductions from a collection of texts, a third treating it all as poetry, and the voice of the few who have a true logic of hermeneutics drowned in the jarring war of sectarists, amid whose contentions the Church lies torn and bleeding.

But let thinking men enlarge their views of logic, let them establish as firm a logical canon for other points as has been done for syllogism and induction of causes, let the distinctive marks of the type of reasoning proper for each science be clearly pointed out, and the happiest results cannot fail to follow. Then shall each branch of philosophy and of science be carried to the highest point of perfection by men who will also sympathize with the labors and joys of others, and the race as a whole go forward in diversity, yet harmony, towards the attainment of their high objects, — the possession of every useful and beautiful art, and the knowledge of all truth.

When we remember how mighty has been the change wrought within two centuries, and how much of it is due to the writings of Bacon and Locke ; when we see, too, how within fifty years the state of the world has been changing with ever accelerating speed ; we can hardly look forward with too lively a hope for the still more splendid fruits, which will come from a remodelling of the sciences and a more clear understanding of the reasoning powers, as a basis for a more judicious training of the intellect. If we extend our view to the ultimate attainments of our race, the eye is dazzled by the blaze of light, and the spirit is overwhelmed by the vastness, the mystery and grandeur of the scene.

T. H.

ART. V. — THE PILGRIMS AT LEYDEN.*

THE modest little pamphlet, the title of which is given below, originally published in the volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society recently issued, (Vol. IX. Third Series,) contains the solution of a question closely connected with the early history of New England, which, though perfectly simple in itself, has been strangely distorted by the party feelings of some historians and the negligence of others. In profiting by his visit to Holland, in order to institute a careful examination into the only sources from which the truth could be drawn, Mr. Sumner has rendered a service to our history, the full value of which can be estimated by those alone, who have been accustomed to face the formidable array of time-worn documents, which fill the archives and libraries of Europe. A succinct analysis of his essay will be the best confirmation of our assertion.

What was the condition of the Pilgrims during their sojourn in Holland? Was it from a refuge endeared by hospitality and sweetened by the interchange of kindly sympathies and tokens of respect, that they sought for conscience' sake the wilds of New England? Or was it an escape from sufferings, of which they knew by long experience the full extent and bearing, to a land the dangers of which were but imperfectly known, and however great, were accounted as nothing in comparison with the religious freedom, for which they had already learned to make their homes in a strange land? It would be vain to look to general historians for a satisfactory answer to this question. Robertson, Burke, and others of less note, represent them as living in obscurity and neglect, and their statements have been adopted on our own side of the Atlantic by Marshall. Others, relying upon the authority of Prince and Morton, have described their position in Holland as one of union among themselves and harmony with their neighbors, some even going so far as to make public protestation of their gratitude to the Dutch for the favors

* *Memoirs of the Pilgrims at Leyden.* By GEORGE SUMNER, Foreign Member of the Geographical Society of Berlin, etc. etc. Cambridge. 1846. 8vo. pp. 33.

which they showered down upon our ancestors. It is only by a reference to unbiassed contemporary writers and positive documents, that the question can be decided.

Of the first class, and first in the class to which it belongs, is the Journal of Governor Bradford; and certainly the picture that he draws of things which his own eyes beheld, is far from agreeing with the highly colored description of the prosperity of the Pilgrims in Holland, which it has more than once been appealed to as confirming. For he paints them as men worn down by toil, dejected by sorrow, already yielding to the first benumbing touches of age, which strike the deeper, inasmuch as they see their children too sinking under the weight of their daily hardships and growing old before their time. Their consciences are free, it is true, and untainted, and they "enjoy spiritual comfort together in the ways of God;" but was it for themselves alone that they had sought out the true path with fasting and prayer, and forsaken country and home, that they might walk in it unrestrained? Or did they, like all men whom high motives actuate, feel themselves impelled by a sacred duty to extend to others, and especially to those who had suffered in the same cause, the freedom and advantages which they had won? Bradford himself has answered us, and neither Prince nor Morton, who arbitrarily interpolate and mutilate his pages, can be put for a moment in competition with this testimony of an eye-witness. "And first, they found and saw by experience the hardness of the place and country to be such as few in comparison would come to them, and fewer that would bide it out and continue with them. * * * Yea, some preferred and chose prisons in England rather than this liberty in Holland with these afflictions." *

Had Mr. Sumner contented himself with calling our attention to these passages in their original purity, he would have deserved our warmest thanks for the restoration of an important fact. But he is far from having stopped here, for, with a patience and assiduity which cannot be appreciated too highly, he has drawn from the municipal archives of Leyden and the records of her churches the fullest confirmation of Bradford's accuracy. There is hardly one

* Bradford, ap. Sumner, pp. 6, 7.

of the questions so ably discussed in his text and appendix, which must not have cost him days of laborious research.

And first he has shown, that no church was ever granted the Pilgrims to worship in at Leyden, — thus overturning the chief argument of those who claimed for our ancestors a state of prosperity and respectful consideration, in a land where, according to Bradford, “they lived but as men in exile and in a poor condition.” The first to advance this argument was Prince, who gives no other authority than the traditions of Leyden, traditions which had so completely worn away when Mr. Sumner visited that city, that many of the men most learned in such subjects, and professionally interested in them, had no knowledge of the residence of such a sect among their industrious ancestors. How then did the tradition arise, for no one would wish to attribute it to Prince as a wilful fabrication? The error was a very natural one. In 1609 there was founded at Leyden an English Presbyterian church, which has been constantly confounded with the congregation of Brownists or Separatists, to which our ancestors belonged. This church enjoyed the protection of Government, and in a valuable note Mr. Sumner has given a sketch of its history, with a list of its pastors during the period of the Pilgrims’ sojourn at Leyden, and several important extracts from the “Acts of the Reformed Church” in that city, which throw great light upon the character of that portion of the English Protestants, who actually did enjoy the privileges which have been claimed for a small and neglected band of their countrymen.

Where then did the Pilgrims worship, and where did Robinson preach? In the house of their pastor, under his own roof. “Non vien permesso però l’ esercizio publico nelle città se non a’ Calvinisti, come ho accennato di sopra; nè si consente, che s’ insegni altra dottrina pubblicamente nelle scuole, che quella della lor setta. A tutte l’ altre è permesso l’ esercizio nelle case private.” “The public exercises of religion are not permitted in the cities to any sect but the Calvinists; neither is it allowed that any other doctrines than theirs shall be taught publicly in the schools. The exercises of all others are permitted in private houses.”* And although this statement refers chiefly

* Bentivoglio ap. Sumner, p. 13.

to the Dutch, it affords a highly probable and natural answer to our question.

‘But Robinson, their pastor, was held in the highest estimation, bore a distinguished part in the public discussions with Episcopius, and was followed to the grave by “the University and ministers of the city.”’ Of the public discussions there are no traces in the University records: yet, as they were of daily occurrence, this circumstance cannot be looked upon as decisive; and Mr. Sumner’s conjecture that Robinson’s tardy admission to the honors of the University,—a fact which he has been the first to bring to light,—was owing to the part which he had taken on some of these occasions, is highly ingenious and probable. But however this may be, it is certain that it was not till after a six or seven years’ residence that he was admitted to this privilege, which was very freely extended to all strangers of any eminence; and even then was required to pay an admission fee, while the pastor of the recognized English church was admitted at once and without any such requisition,—a strong presumptive proof of the different degrees of estimation in which they were held.

The conclusions drawn from the attentions bestowed on his grave repose upon a still weaker foundation. Winslow, the only contemporary author by whom this circumstance is recorded, writes not from Leyden, but from Plymouth, not in a letter, or a journal, or even a history, but in a tract expressly drawn up in defence of the Plymouth Colony against the accusations of Gorton and others of their opponents, whom posterity has learned to judge less harshly than their contemporaries. White, who writes from Leyden the very month after Robinson’s death, says nothing of these honors, nor is there any mention of them in the other letters preserved in Bradford’s letter-book.*

Still more. The plague was raging in all its fury at the time of Robinson’s death, and the burial-registers of Leyden, which Mr. Sumner has examined with his wonted care, bear melancholy testimony to the fearful ravages

* Mass. Hist. Coll. quoted by Sumner. The substance of this letter is given also by Prince, (p. 159;) but without any mention of the plague, and in a form, which, as he pretends to use the precise words of the writer, is hardly admissible, though not uncommon.

which it made. Robinson did not die of the plague, it is true, but it is not less true, that during the prevalence of this scourge all public funerals were suspended and the ringing of bells even forbidden. Could he have formed an exception?

But a still more convincing argument is drawn from the fact that he was buried in a temporary grave — a little pit where four coffins were laid in together — hired for a term which at the utmost did not exceed seven years, and for the trifling sum of nine florins, or three dollars and sixty cents, the price paid by day-laborers and men of the lowest condition. Would such have been the burial-place of one honored by the magistrates and the University, and followed by them in solemn procession to his grave? Or was it not rather like the spot, around which a few care-worn men, whom their common sufferings unite, meet to pay their last tribute to one whom they fain would honor with something more than tears, and whom, deeply as they love him, they yet must envy, for he has escaped before them from the pains and trials which they had long borne together?

It will be seen that Mr. Sumner's arguments are based upon two incontrovertible canons of historical criticism. 1. That the silence of contemporary historians — themselves actors in the scenes which they describe — concerning any important fact, is a strong presumptive proof against it. 2. That the mention of any favorable fact or circumstance by a professed apologist of the party or person to which or whom it relates, cannot be considered as possessing any authority unless it be supported by positive documents.

To this reasoning he has brought an ample array of documentary evidence, and has developed his views with a degree of skill and a logical vigor, which leave us at a loss whether more to admire the extent and accuracy of his researches or the force and lucidness of his reasoning.

But after all, *cui bono*? Why so many pages for the correction of an error, which, make as much of it as we may, has no apparent general bearing? The question at the utmost was a very simple one, and now that it is solved, looks exceedingly like the problem of the egg when once made to stand by itself. It was but to give contemporary statements their due weight, follow the genuine

text of Bradford, and pay no attention to compilations. But it is precisely here that the difficulty lies, and it is this patience in going back to original sources, and this skill in applying the sound principles of criticism to the discussion of remote events, that forms one of the most striking features in the progress of historical composition. Daily experience shows how intimate a relation exists between events which have no apparent connexion; through what singular combinations one thing is brought about by another; and the discovery of a single fact, of no great importance in itself, made the stepping-stone to others of deep and universal interest. We will suppose, then, for a moment that the subject of this dissertation is one of little importance, difficult as it is to apply this term to any thing connected with our forefathers, and that the fact in itself is but a trifling acquisition to our history. But can we go back with our original confidence to the "careful Prince," who adopts without inquiry a floating tradition and makes it the basis of positive conclusions? Or to Morton, who, omitting the complimentary word of a sentence, substitutes in its stead an entirely new clause at open variance with the statement of his author? Or to the "venerable Cotton Mather," who sometimes writes from insufficient authorities, and often from none at all?

"Much error," says Bancroft in his dignified and elegant preface, "had become incorporated with American history, * * * The early history was often written with a carelessness which seized on rumors and vague recollections as sufficient authority for an assertion which satisfied prejudice by wanton perversions, and which, where materials were not at hand, substituted the inferences of the writer for authenticated facts. These early books have ever since been cited as authorities, and the errors, sometimes repeated even by considerate writers, whose distrust was not excited, have almost acquired a prescriptive right to a place in the annals of America."

Did our limits permit us, we should wish to follow out this idea, and illustrate it by a detailed examination of some passages in our early history. But Mr. Sumner's dissertation contains the best proof of its justness. Would that his example might be followed by the members of our Historical Societies. What might they not accomplish, if

they would but direct their combined exertions to the republication of the original writers from authentic manuscripts and editions, and the illustration, by a series of careful dissertations, of the principal questions of our history! What too might not our travellers do, if each would, like Mr. Sumner, bring his tribute to the common cause, and, like him, renounce for a while the attractions of the saloon, for dusty archives! For this little pamphlet is a traveller's tribute, and in closing our notice of it we will venture to suggest, that one who has displayed so much learning and research and critical skill, in the investigation of a question which can have been of only incidental interest, must have gathered a harvest of uncommon value in those departments, the study of which has formed more especially the object of his travels.

G. W. G.

ART. VI. — PERFECTIONISM. — UPHAM'S LIFE OF FAITH.*

WE propose to offer a few remarks upon Professor Upham's new work, "The Life of Faith." But, it may not be amiss to present, by way of introduction, a brief sketch of the rise and character of the peculiar religious views, in which this work originated. When, some years since, the lines of separation were drawn between the self-styled Orthodox and the Unitarian portions of the community, one of the charges brought against the Unitarians was, that they expected to be saved by their own merits, by their

* 1. *The Life of Faith, in three Parts; embracing some of the Scriptural Principles or Doctrines of Faith, the Power or Effects of Faith in the Regulation of Man's Inward Nature, and the Relation of Faith to the Divine Guidance.* By THOMAS C. UPHAM. Boston: Wait, Pierce & Co. 1845. 8vo. pp. 480.

2. *Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection, with other kindred subjects, illustrated and confirmed in a series of Discourses designed to throw light on the way of Holiness.* By REV. ASA MAHAN, President of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute. Seventh edition. Boston: Waite, Peirce & Co. 1844. 18mo. pp. 193.

3. *Holiness of Christians in the Present Life.* By REV. HENRY COWLES, Professor in Oberlin Theol. Seminary. Oberlin. 1840. 18mo. pp. 124.

4. *The Oberlin Quarterly Review.* Edited by REV. ASA MAHAN, and Professor WILLIAM COCHRAN. Nos. 1-3. Oberlin (Ohio.) 1845-6. 8vo.

own good works. In connection with this charge, it was alleged that the preaching of the Unitarian clergy was mere moral preaching, very well as far as it went, but entirely destitute of the doctrines of grace, the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel, and of all that vitality and converting or sanctifying power which can be derived from no other source. It was true that the Unitarian clergy did urge the importance of a pure and rigid morality. And, as the tendency of all separations is to drive the separating parties to opposite extremes, perhaps they did not, at that time, dwell sufficiently upon the necessity of a heart right with God, as the source of all true Christian morality. But the clergy of the opposite, or self-styled Orthodox, party went to the opposite extreme, and dwelt almost exclusively upon the importance of a correct belief, as the ground of acceptance with God. They warned the community against trusting to their own merits, and denounced good works as no better than "filthy rags." Whatever may have been the wish or the purpose of those who urged these views upon the attention of the community, the effect of their preaching was to magnify, in the estimation of their hearers, the importance of correctness in belief, or in other words, as the subject was generally understood, of correctness in speculative opinions, and to lessen in their minds the value of a pure and holy life. It produced great zeal for the spread of their peculiar dogmas, accompanied by comparative indifference in regard to high moral worth. This was seen and lamented by many pious and devout persons of the different Orthodox denominations.

This state of feeling could not continue long, without producing a reaction. For the human heart is so constituted, that it will not long remain satisfied with mere speculative theology, with a religion confined to the head, leaving the affections cold and lifeless. It will be true to its own spiritual longings and tendencies. Consequently there soon sprang up among the Orthodox Congregationalists and Presbyterians a class of religionists, who urged the importance of a higher standard of practical holiness than was then prevalent, and who contended that it was possible for men, through God's grace assisting them, to attain even in this world a state of entire consecration both of heart and life to the service of God. Rev. Asa Mahan,

President of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute, became a prominent advocate of these views. Perhaps it may not be uninteresting to our readers, to see President Mahan's account of the circumstances which led to his change of opinions. And we are the more inclined to give it, as it serves to confirm the views we have already advanced, in regard to the origin of this peculiar manifestation. After speaking of his conversion, and of his religious feelings at the commencement of the Christian course, he proceeds to say: —

“In this state, I commenced my studies as a student in college. Here I fell, and fell by not aiming singly at the ‘prize of the high calling;’ but at the prize of college honors. I subsequently entered a theological seminary, with the hope of there finding myself in such an atmosphere, that my first love would be revived. In this expectation, I grieve to say, I was sadly disappointed. I found the piety of my brethren apparently as low as my own. I here say it, with sorrow of heart, that my mind does not recur to a single individual connected with the ‘school of the prophets,’ when I was there, who appeared to me to enjoy daily communion and peace with God. After completing my course under such circumstances, I entered the ministry, proud of my intellectual attainments, and armed, as I supposed, at every point with the weapons of theological warfare, but with the soul of piety chilled and expiring within me. Blessed be God, the remembrance of what I had been remained, and constantly aroused me to a consciousness of what I was. I looked into myself, and over the church, and was shocked at what I felt and what I saw. Two facts in the aspect of the church and the ministry struck my mind with gloomy interest. Scarcely an individual, within the reach of my knowledge, seemed to know the Gospel as a *sanctifying* or *peace-giving* Gospel. In illustration of this remark, let me state a fact which I met with in the year 1831 or 1832. I then met a company of my ministerial brethren, who had come together in one of the most favored portions of the country. They sat down together, and gave to each other an undisguised disclosure of the state of their hearts; and they all, with one exception, — and the experience of that individual I did not hear, — acknowledged that they had not daily communion and peace with God. Over these facts they wept, but neither knew how to direct the others out of the thick and impenetrable gloom which covered them; and I was in the same ignorance as my brethren. I state these facts as a fair example of the state of the churches, and of the ministry, as far as my observation has extended; and that has been very extensive.” — pp. 182–184.

As an additional witness to the same point, we quote from a small work on Holiness, by Professor Cowles, of the Oberlin Institute, who sympathizes with President Mahan in his views upon this subject. Professor Cowles lays it down as one of his starting-points, that "the standard of piety, throughout the American Church," (meaning the Orthodox portion of it,) "is extremely low, and that the spirit of the world has deeply pervaded and exceedingly engrossed the church." And this is said, not in the tone in which many Orthodox writers and journals are in the practice of lamenting the want of revivals and the absence of the Holy Spirit. For Professor Cowles assigns the prevalence of revivals as one of the causes of the state of things of which he is speaking. He says:—

"The present century has been gloriously distinguished as one of benevolent and revival *action*. The dazzling splendor of these movements and the bustling scenes of this labor have drawn many Christians away from deep communion with their own hearts, and with the Spirit of God. In this respect none can doubt that piety has assumed a new type since the days of our fathers. There is more of external action and doing,—but far less of heart-watchfulness, the subduing of sin, and holy communion with the Spirit. Is it strange that under such influences, the standard of holiness should be depressed? The bustle of this action is now passing by. In respect to revivals, at least, we have reason to fear a reaction, the result of excited and spasmodic effort, which springs not chiefly from pure devotion and divine influence. Plainly, there is no remedy but for the church to come back to the first elements of piety. She must return to God and holy communion. The standard of piety must be raised. What can the church do for the conversion of the world, for her own existence even, without personal holiness, *much, deep, pure, personal holiness?*" — p. 3.

These extracts from President Mahan and Professor Cowles serve to confirm the views we have already advanced in regard to the spiritual condition of the Orthodox portion of the American Church, and of the tendency of this state of things to produce precisely the manifestation of which they, together with some others, have become the exponents. We are aware that it may be said, that these men, differing from the great body of Christians of whom they are speaking, feel bound to make out a case; and that their testimony is not, on that account, worthy of implicit confidence. But we remember that in a review from an Ortho-

dox source, intended to check the spread of President Mahan's doctrines, it was admitted, that while the Orthodox clergy, generally, held to the importance of a holy life, as fully as Dr. Mahan himself, yet, from the peculiar aspects of the times and the peculiar state of the controversies, they had not dwelt upon this point, and urged it home upon the attention of their hearers, as much as would perhaps have been desirable.

At length the state of things, of which we have spoken, was followed by its natural consequences. Dr. Mahan and others, aroused by the want of true spiritual life everywhere around them, came forward with the doctrine, that men ought, and that, through God's grace assisting them, they could with proper effort attain to perfection of Christian character, in other words, to a life of holiness on earth. From the use of the term, *perfection*, this class of Christians are called *Perfectionists*. But they are to be carefully distinguished from another class bearing the same name, sometimes called, by way of distinction, "Antinomian Perfectionists." The application of the term Perfectionist to Dr. Mahan and those who sympathize with him in sentiment, has excited great prejudice against them, not only among the Orthodox churches, but in the community generally. It may not be without its use, therefore, to point out somewhat distinctly the peculiar views of this class of Christians, and to shew wherein they differ from the "Antinomian Perfectionists."

What then do this class of Christians mean by perfection in holiness? Dr. Mahan, in answering this question, says:—

"I would remark, that perfection in holiness implies a full and perfect discharge of our entire duty, of all existing obligations in respect to God and all other beings. It is perfect obedience to the moral law. It is 'loving the Lord our God with all our heart, and with all our soul, and with all our strength, and our neighbor as ourselves.' * * * In the Christian, perfection in holiness implies the consecration of his whole being to Christ, — the subjection of all his powers and susceptibilities to the control of one principle — 'faith on the Son of God.' * * * Were the Christian in that state in which he should 'eat and drink, and do all that he does for the glory of God,' — in which his eye should be perfectly single to this one object; or in which the action of all his powers should be controlled by faith, which works by love, he would then, I suppose, have attained to a state

of entire sanctification, — his character would be perfect and entire, wanting nothing." — pp. 7, 8.

Still further, and more particularly, the same author says:—

"It will readily be perceived, that perfect holiness, as above described, does not imply *perfect wisdom*, the exclusive attribute of God. The Scriptures, speaking of the human nature of Christ, affirm, that 'he increased in wisdom.' This surely does not imply that his holiness was less perfect at one time than at another. So of the Christian. His holiness may be perfect in *kind*, but *finite* in *degree*, and in this sense imperfect; because his wisdom and knowledge are limited, and in this sense imperfect. Holiness, in a creature, may also be perfect, and yet progressive — progressive, not in its nature, but in degree. To be perfect, it must be progressive in the sense last mentioned, if the powers of the subject are progressive. He is perfect in holiness, whose love at each successive moment corresponds with the extent of his powers. 'If there be first a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not.' Hence I remark, that perfection in holiness does not imply, that we now love God with all the strength and intensity with which redeemed spirits in heaven love him. The depth and intensity of our love depend, under all circumstances, upon the vigor and reach of our powers, and the extent and distinctness of our vision of divine truth." — pp. 8, 9.

"That we be in a perfectly sanctified state in regard to our wills, implies, that * * * every choice, every preference, and every volition be controlled by a filial regard to the divine requisitions. * * * That we 'be preserved blameless' in regard to our intellect, does not imply that we never think of what is evil. If this were so, Christ was not blameless, because he thought of the temptations of Satan. Nor could the Christian repel what is evil, as he is required to do. To repel evil, the evil itself must be before the mind, as an object of thought. To be blameless in respect to the action of our intellectual powers, does imply, 1. that every thought of evil be instantly suppressed and repelled; 2. that they be constantly employed on the inquiry, what is truth and the will of God, and by what means we may best meet the elements of the great law of love; 3. that they be employed in the perpetual contemplation of 'whatsoever things are true,' etc. That our feelings and mental susceptibilities be preserved blameless, does not imply, that they are, at all times and circumstances, in the same intensity of excitement, or in the same identical state. This the powers and laws of our being forbid. * * * That our feelings and mental susceptibilities be in a blameless state, does imply, 1. that they be held in perfect and perpetual subjection to the will of God; 2. that they be in perfect and

perpetual harmony with the truth and will of God as apprehended by the intellect. * * * That our bodies be preserved blameless, does not, of course, imply that they are free from fatigue, disease, or death. Nor does it imply that no desire be excited through our physical propensities, which, under existing circumstances, it would be unlawful to indulge. * * * That we be preserved in a sanctified and blameless state in respect to our bodies, does imply, 1. that we endeavor to acquaint ourselves with all the laws of our physical constitution; 2. that in regard to food, drink, and dress, and in regard to the indulgence of all our appetites and physical propensities, there be a sacred and undeviating conformity to these laws; 3. that every unlawful desire be instantly suppressed, and that all our propensities be held in perfect subjection to the will of God; 4. that our bodies, with all our physical powers and propensities, be 'presented to God as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable,' to be employed in his service. Such is Christian perfection. It is the consecration of the whole being to Christ, and the perpetual employment of all our powers in his service. It is the perfect assimilation of our entire character to that of Christ, having at all times, and under all circumstances, 'the same mind that was also in Christ Jesus.' " — pp. 10 – 13.

Perfection in holiness, then, according to this class of Christians, if we understand them aright, is based upon undoubting faith, and perfect love; and has its seat in the voluntary purposes of the life. It consists in the entireness of the consecration of the heart, the completeness of the devotion of purpose to the service of God, and the good of man. There is no cherished love of sin, no willing consent to it, no voluntary indulgence in it, believing it to be sin. And yet, in connection with this entireness of consecration, a man may, through ignorance, pursue wrong courses of conduct, not knowing, at the time, that they are wrong. But he will turn from them, as soon as his mind is enlightened in regard to their true character. And so too, he may be overpowered by some sudden impulse of appetite, passion or propensity, excited by powerful temptations from without. But as soon as he recovers himself, he will turn from his unholy indulgence, with much self-loathing, in the exercise of true godly sorrow, of sincere and heartfelt repentance. His devotion of purpose will be seen, in his conscientious endeavor to perform aright, in a Christian manner, and under the influence of Christian motives and feelings, all the various duties growing out of his circum-

stances, conditions and relations in life. Under the influence of this purpose, he will regard the moral precepts of the Gospel as the standard, to which he will seek to have all his feelings, wishes and actions conform. And he will study the Bible, as he would any other book, to ascertain its instructions. In other words, he will conscientiously and perseveringly, without halting in his course or wavering in his purpose, seek to lead a Christ-like life, in all its entire consecration to the will of the Father, and in all its self-sacrificing devotion to the good of man; to have "Christ formed within him," to know, by happy experience, the "Christ of consciousness." In intimate connection with this earnest endeavor, there will be a consciousness of liability to error and sin, and a deep sense of the need of spiritual assistance from above, leading the individual to God in frequent prayer and holy communion.

We have alluded to another class of religionists, bearing the same name with that we have been noticing, but who are sometimes called, by way of distinction, "Antinomian Perfectionists." As there seems to be a wide difference of opinion between the two classes, it is important to show, in this connection, wherein they differ. This we shall do in the words of President Mahan. He says:—

"This doctrine," (the doctrine of holiness of which he is treating) "it is said, is, or in its legitimate tendencies leads to, *Perfectionism*. If any individual will point out any thing intrinsic, in the doctrine here maintained, at all allied to *that* error, I, for one, will be among the first to abandon the position which I am now endeavoring to sustain. Perfectionism, technically so called, is, in my judgment, in the native and necessary tendencies of its principles, worse than the worst form of infidelity. The doctrine of holiness, in all its essential features and elements, stands in direct opposition to Perfectionism. It has absolutely nothing in common with it, but a few terms derived from the Bible. 1. Perfectionism, for example, in its fundamental principles, is the abrogation of all law. The doctrine of holiness, is perfect obedience to the precepts of the law. It is the 'righteousness of the law fulfilled in us.' 2. In abrogating the moral law, as a rule of duty, Perfectionism abrogates all obligation of every kind, and to all beings. The doctrine of holiness, contemplates the Christian as a 'debtor to all men,' to the full extent of his capacities, and consists in a perfect discharge of all these obligations—of every obligation to God and man. 3. Perfectionism is a 'rest' which suspends all effort and prayer

even, for the salvation of the world. The doctrine of holiness, consists in such a sympathy with the love of Christ, as constrains the subject to consecrate his entire being to the glory of Christ, in the salvation of men. 4. Perfectionism substitutes the direct teaching of the Spirit, falsely called, in the place of the 'word.' This expects such teachings only in the diligent study of the word, and tries every doctrine by the 'law and the testimony,' — 'the law and the testimony,' expounded in conformity with the legitimate laws of interpretation. 5. Perfectionism surrenders up the soul to blind impulse, assuming, that every existing desire or impulse is caused by the direct agency of the Spirit, and therefore to be gratified. The doctrine of holiness, consists in the subjection of all our powers and propensities to the revealed will of God. 6. Perfectionism abrogates the Sabbath, and all the ordinances of the Gospel, and, in its legitimate tendencies, even marriage itself. The doctrine of holiness, is a state of perfect moral purity, induced and perpetuated by a careful observance of all these ordinances, together with subjection to other influences of the Gospel, received by faith. 7. Perfectionism renders, in its fundamental principles, all perfection an impossibility. If, as this system maintains, the Christian is freed from all obligation, is bound by no law, — in short, if there is no standard with which to compare his actions, (and there is none,) if the moral law, as a rule of action, is abrogated, — moral perfection can no more be predicated of the Christian, than of the horse, the ox, or the ass. The doctrine of holiness, on the other hand, contemplates the moral law as the only rule and standard of the moral conduct, and consists in perfect conformity to the precepts of this law. 8. Perfectionism, in short, in its essential elements, is the perfection of licentiousness. The doctrine of holiness, is the perfect and perpetual harmony of the soul with 'whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report, and, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise,' with these things also. What agreement then has the doctrine of holiness with Perfectionism?" — pp. 70–72.

We have thus presented a sketch of the origin and character of the peculiar religious views of the Oberlin Perfectionists. These views are gradually extending in the community. Many, of different Communion, are either embracing them in full, or allowing their opinions to be very much modified by their influence. They have now, devoted to their defence and spread, the *Oberlin Evangelist*, a paper, published every alternate week; and the *Oberlin Quarterly Review*, edited by President Mahan and Professor Cochran. "This Review is designed," say its

Editors, "to sustain a pure Literature, a correct Theology, a practical Morality and a spiritual Religion." We have felt that these peculiar views, — embraced, as they are, by men of piety and talents, — already sufficiently extended to encourage the publication of a Quarterly devoted principally to their defence and further extension, destined, as we believe, to effect an important and beneficial modification of the rigid features of Calvinism, and adapted, at the same time, to infuse a greater degree of spiritual life into the more rational and practical faith of Unitarianism, when brought in contact with it, — demanded a notice and a record on their own account. And we have also thought that this sketch was needed, to prepare the way for a better appreciation of Professor Upham's "Life of Faith," which we suppose originated in the views we have noticed.

Professor Upham has for some time sympathized, to a greater or less extent, with these views. Some years since he published a series of articles in the "Guide to Perfection," which were afterwards republished, with additions, in a volume entitled "Principles of the Interior or Hidden Life." This was not a controversial, but a practical work, devoted, not to the defence, but to the explanation and application of his peculiar views. The peculiar structure of Professor Upham's mind, the influence of his previous investigations and labors in the department of mental philosophy, and, above all, his humble and truly devout religious spirit, all serve to lead him to analysis and application, rather than to argument and controversy. And yet, in analyzing the general philosophical principles of the "hidden life," he does more, perhaps, than he could have done in any other way, to establish and confirm his peculiar views. The principal question at issue between Professor Upham and those with whom he sympathizes in sentiment on the one side, and the great body of Orthodox Christians on the other, relates to the possibility of attaining to perfection in holiness in this life. Professor Upham enters into no controversy upon this subject. But, in his analysis of the philosophical character of the religious life, he discovers and states two distinct principles, which seem to establish his own views. They are these, — "that we can never feel under moral obligation to do a thing, which we believe impossible to be done; and that no person can put

forth a volition to do a thing, which at the same time he believes impossible to be done." If then, as the great body of Orthodox Christians contend, it is impossible for men to attain to perfection in holiness in this life, it will follow, if these principles are correct, that no one can feel himself morally bound to strive after that attainment, and that no one will put forth a volition to secure it. The simple statement of these general principles of the philosophy of the mind shows, at once, the glaring inconsistency of those, who in one breath exhort men to strive for perfection in holiness, and in the next teach them that it is impossible to attain it. With Professor Upham's work on the "Interior Life" we became acquainted soon after its publication. We were soon deeply interested in it, and we have derived much spiritual instruction from the frequent perusal of it. We have kept it upon our table, as a manual of practical reading. We have freely lent it to our friends, and circulated it among the people of our charge. Without entering into an analysis of its contents, and while stating distinctly that there are expressions and views contained in it from which we differ, we would freely aver, that its influence both upon ourselves and upon those to whom we have lent it, if we may credit their testimony, has been highly favorable. While it has not diminished zeal in outward efforts for the promotion of the moral improvement of man and the spread of the Redeemer's kingdom on the earth, it has awakened a deeper sense of the importance of ever keeping the inner state of the soul pure before God, and ever cherishing a spirit of acquiescence in the will of God in regard to the result of our exertions.

Professor Upham has now followed out, in his "Life of Faith," some of the trains of thought, upon which he entered in his former work. And the latter is, to use the words of the author, "to some extent, kindred, in its nature, with the 'Interior Life.'" There is nothing of a controversial character in either. The object of both is to promote practical godliness. One great difficulty with most writers on Faith is, that they have treated of religious faith as something so different from the ordinary operations of natural faith, that they have involved the subject in an almost impenetrable mystery. Professor Upham had been led, by his previous investigations, to an acquaintance with

faith as an element of mental philosophy. He avails himself of this acquaintance, to illustrate Christian faith by a comparison of it with natural faith, shewing wherein they are the same, in character, operation and influence, and pointing out wherein they differ. In this way, he has cleared the subject of many of its difficulties, and of most of its mystery, and has rendered it intelligible to all who will reflect upon it. He has not only analyzed the nature of Christian faith, but has pointed out its relations to the various elements of the spiritual life, and its bearings upon the various parts of the Christian character. And this he has done, we think, in a clear and happy manner; while the whole book is so written, as to awaken a devout and religious state of the feelings in the reader. And this we regard as no slight recommendation. It is too often the case, that writers upon these difficult and abstruse subjects so conduct their inquiries, and so word their statements, as to leave their readers in a speculative frame of mind, a state somewhat hostile to heartfelt devotion and the spiritual life of the soul. Such is not the case with Professor Upham. No one can rise from the perusal of either of the two works we have noticed, how much soever he may differ from some of the views advanced, without finding himself in a purer and more religious frame of soul. This peculiarity arises from the spirit of the writer, which is a devotional and practical spirit, and also, in part, from the stand-point he occupies in viewing the subject. Professor Upham is viewing the subject, not in its relation to those who differ from him in speculation, but in its relation to the spiritual life and Christian character. He is seeking, not to convince or vanquish an opponent, but to promote true spirituality of the affections, and the control of Christian faith and religious principle over all the conduct, first in himself, as he writes, and afterwards in the readers who may peruse what he has written. And this object his work is well adapted to accomplish, not by means of direct exhortation or labored argument to that effect, but simply because the spirit and feelings of the writer are so diffused through the work, as to awaken, by the power of sympathy, the corresponding spirit and feelings in the reader. Professor Upham has imbibed, and sheds through his writings, something of the spirit of the mystics, of Fenelon, Madame

Guyon and others. But it is mysticism in the mind of a clear-headed, analytical investigator of mental philosophy. It does not lead him to write in the manner of the mystics; it only gives to his philosophical analysis and statements a spiritual tone and a holy unction. If he has kept company with the mystics, it has not resulted in his becoming himself one of them, but has enabled him to bring from his intercourse with them that which is truly valuable in itself, and which, when incorporated with abstract speculation, serves to make it more truly practical in its character, and more highly spiritual in its influence.

There are two particulars, in regard to which we anticipate great good to the Christian community from these works of Professor Upham. It is well known, that in many of the Orthodox denominations great account is made of religious emotions, of striking and vivid religious experiences. Especially is this the case in seasons of revival, as they are technically called. It seems to be expected that men, in becoming truly religious, must pass through a season of deep anguish of soul, and be driven almost to spiritual despair, and that from this state of darkness and distress they must emerge into one of great spiritual peace and ecstatic joy. These vivid emotions and striking experiences are regarded as the elements of true Christian conversion, and as essential ingredients in vital religion. It seems to be thought that no one can be a true follower of Christ, unless he has been favored with them. They become identified, in the minds of many, with pure and undefiled religion in the soul. We have long known that these views have exerted an injurious influence upon many individuals; have either been, in the minds of some, a hindrance to the reception and enjoyment of the Gospel, or, in the minds of others, the basis on which they rest their spiritual hopes. Some we have known, who had not enjoyed these vivid emotions and striking experiences. And therefore they dared not indulge the hope that they could be accepted of God, or regarded with favor by Christ. They dared not go forward in a Christian profession, and were paralyzed in their efforts to cultivate the Christian virtues and graces. And yet they were, to all appearance, humble, devout and prayerful, studying carefully the Bible, and seeking in all things to obey its instructions. But, in

consequence of erroneous views in regard to the necessity of vivid experiences, they have passed through life sorrowing, and have gone to their grave without the cheering support of a Christian hope. Then we have known others, who were rejoicing in their Christian hope, while yet they neglected to maintain Christian characters. They believed themselves to be Christians, not because they were daily and hourly striving to obey Christ and to breathe his spirit, but in consequence of some previous religious experiences. In both of these ways are the views, to which we have alluded, doing injury. Professor Upham, in both the "Interior Life" and the "Life of Faith," strikes at the root of these errors, by assigning to vivid emotions and striking experiences their appropriate place, by confining them to their proper sphere. He speaks upon the subject after this manner.

"We will suppose the case of a person, who is the subject of a divine operation. Under the influence of this inward operation, he experiences, to a considerable extent, new views of his own situation, of his need of a Saviour, and of the restoration of his soul to God in spiritual union. The operation, which has been experienced so far, is purely intellectual. Of the necessity and value of such intellectual influences, there can be no doubt. But I believe it is generally conceded, that, in themselves alone, they do not, and cannot constitute religion. But in addition to this, we will suppose, that an effect, and perhaps a very decided effect, has been experienced in the emotive part, which in its action is subsequent to that of the intellect. The person has very pleasant emotions. The perception of new truth, as we should naturally expect, gives him happiness; and the perception of its relation to his salvation gives him still more happiness. He is very happy. He begins to speak a new language. His mouth is filled with praise. But has such a person religion, as his friends are very desirous to believe, and very apt to declare? He has an *experience* undoubtedly. We are willing to admit, that he has a valuable experience; an experience, which is naturally preparatory to religion, and is closely connected with it; and looks very much like it. But if the experience stops here, in such a manner as to constitute a merely emotional experience, and without reaching and affecting a still more inward and important part of the mind, as seems sometimes to be the case, we cannot with good reasons regard it as a truly religious experience, meaning by the terms an experience which meets the expectations and the demands of God, and is saving." *

* Interior Life, pp. 178, 179.

And again he says :—

“We may probably discover in these principles,” (those he had been endeavoring to establish,) “the reason, why it is, that, in times of especial religious attention, so many persons, who appeared to be much engaged in religion for a season, subsequently lose their interest, and become, both in practice and feeling, assimilated to the world. Such persons are undoubtedly the subjects of an inward experience; and this experience, in common parlance, is frequently called a religious experience, but it is obviously defective in the essential particular of not having a *root*.”*

We make a single extract more upon this point, from the “*Life of Faith*.”

“The emotions in their various kinds, both joyous and sorrowful, arise on many occasions very different from each other; and oftentimes have nothing to do with religion; and at their best estate may be regarded merely as the attendants and accessories of religion. The true view, therefore, is that emotional states, or mere temporary feelings of joy and sorrow, in distinction from the permanent state of love, may or may not involve the fact of religion. The man, who has them, may possess religion, or he may be destitute of it. In forming a judgment, therefore, of a man’s religious character from his joys or sorrows, however excited they may be, it is necessary to be very careful. But no man need be solicitous in respect to the reality and truth of his religion, whether his joys or his sorrows be more or less, who, having entirely renounced himself, has that faith in God, which works by love and purifies the heart.” — p. 90.

We anticipate, we repeat, great good from the publication and circulation in the Christian community of sentiments like these. They will tend to free the public mind from many false notions; will serve as a check to the extravagances too often witnessed in times of revival, and make religion a more simple and rational matter, commending itself to the better judgment of the head as well as to the warmer affections of the heart. And the Gospel itself will find increased favor with thinking men, when it is seen that the highest degree of spirituality of the affections and of the character is perfectly consistent with the highest degree of intellectual improvement, with the best exercises of the reason and the judgment.

* *Interior Life*, p. 181.

In another respect we have been gratified with the perusal of Professor Upham's volumes. They serve to confirm a belief we have for a long time entertained, that whenever our minds are directed to the spiritual and the practical in religion — whenever we are engaged in endeavors to promote the true spiritual life of the soul, or the practical godliness of the character, either in ourselves or others, — we make very little use of the language of sectarian theology. It naturally loses the prominent place it may have before held in our minds. We do not become, perhaps, any the less Trinitarians or Unitarians, than before. But we find less occasion for the use of the terms, expressions and doctrines, peculiar to these two classes of views. We find, when seeking to promote our own spiritual and practical improvement, that we are ourselves more of Christians than we are of sectarians. And we rejoice to find others, sustaining different denominational relations from those which we sustain, speaking and writing very much in the way in which we should upon the same subjects. We rejoice that they too, when treating of topics of this practical and spiritual character, show themselves to be more of Christians than of sectarians. This is a conviction we have long cherished. We repeat that we have been gratified to have it confirmed by the perusal of the works we have noticed. Professor Upham is a conscientious Trinitarian; and there are scattered through these books peculiar expressions, naturally growing out of a belief in the doctrines of Trinitarianism, or allusions to those doctrines, which flow almost involuntarily from the abundance of the heart that is attached to them. Still, these doctrines are not interwoven into the very texture of the work, as the essential elements, on which the whole depends for its character and influence. As you read the volumes, you may mark out, as enclosed in parentheses, every expression derived from a Trinitarian belief, every allusion to Trinitarian doctrines, and the general tenor of the argument or explanation, in which they occur, will not be marred nor weakened by their omission. But, in addition to this incidental confirmation of views we have delighted to cherish, we find other and more positive support for them. In the "Life of Faith" there is a chapter devoted to the consideration of the "relation of faith to energy of

action." In this chapter the writer quotes the Apostle Paul, where he says, "We believe, and therefore speak," and follows up his quotation with these remarks.

"Faith always has its object. And the inquiry naturally presents itself, what was it, which the Apostle Paul believed, that thus opened his heart of love and his lips of eloquence, and sent him forth a preacher through the world? He believed in God's moral government; he believed in God's commands; he believed in the immortality of the soul; he believed in man's fallen and depraved condition; he believed in the advent of Jesus Christ, in his crucifixion, and in his sacrifice for sin; he believed in the presence and power of the Holy Ghost; he believed in the resurrection of the dead, the final judgment, and the retributions of eternity. Having faith, as he did, in these great truths, truths sublime in themselves and deeply operative and renovating in their application, he found a motive, an impulse to the highest action, which he could find nowhere else. It was religious truth, the truth *believed in*, and the truth *felt*, which was the inspiration of his life of labor." — p. 248.

Here is a Trinitarian, seeking to ascertain and state the items of belief which gave Paul his energy. And yet he has not used the technical phrases of a Trinitarian creed. Nor has he employed the technical terms of the Unitarian belief. He has expressed himself, we suppose, very much as a Unitarian, of the same honesty and fairness, would have done; for even the Unitarian, in such an analysis of Paul's belief, would have employed terms more general than the narrow limits of any sectarian theology, even his own, would afford. Thus are the views we have held on this point confirmed, and the hope we have rejoiced to entertain, of a final reunion of Christians of all sects on some broad ground held by them in common, strengthened.

We have completed what we wished to say of the "Life of Faith;" but, as we have spoken somewhat generally of the class of Christians, with whom, as we have supposed, Mr. Upham sympathizes, we wish to add a few words more in regard to this religious manifestation. We believe, then, that the "Oberlin Perfectionists" have been, and are, destined to be instruments of great good in the Christian community, — not so much by converting large numbers to the full belief of their peculiar speculations, as by an indirect influence, in awakening even those, who may differ from them in speculation, to higher aims and holier purposes.

The speculation by which they are distinguished, the possibility of the attainment of perfection in holiness in this life, is one to which they seem to have been driven by the peculiar opinions of the Christian sects among whom they first made their appearance. The Presbyterians and Orthodox Congregationalists are represented by President Mahan, as believing that no one can enter upon the happiness of heaven, unless perfectly holy. And consequently they hold the doctrine, that "the Christian is perfectly sanctified at, or a few minutes before, death, and never at an earlier period." This view seems to regard sanctification, not as an attainment to be secured by God's blessing upon efforts put forth for that purpose, but as a gift bestowed without reference to individual effort. The absurdity of this position is well set forth by President Mahan, by two distinct considerations. "1st. The grace which sanctifies the believer amid the gloom and wreck and distraction of dissolving nature, would, if applied, have sanctified him at an earlier period. 2d. No other reason can be assigned for this grace being thus withheld, but the supposition that God can be better glorified, and his kingdom better advanced, by saints *partially*, than wholly consecrated to their sacred calling."* With the tenets held by those among whom President Mahan had received his education, this absurdity has placed him just where we should suppose it would place him, and the arguments, with which he meets those from whom he has ventured to differ in opinion on this point, seem to us unanswerable on their general principles. But the subject does not present the same difficulty to our minds, in consequence of our embracing a different philosophy in regard to the connection between this life and the future. Believing as we do, that at death the soul passes on, from one state of being to a different, without any change in its moral or spiritual condition, the subject of dispute between the Perfectionists and their opponents is stripped of its difficulty and loses its importance. Our Saviour, as it seems to us, has in a great degree broken down the wall of separation between this life and the next, and taught us that there may be a resurrection to immortal life within the soul, even in this world, and that whoever truly liveth, in the spiritual acceptance of the term, in this

* Mahan on Christian Perfection, p. 47.

world, shall never die. If, then, the soul passes on from the present to the future life, the two may be regarded as but parts of the same whole. And the attainments in holiness which are secured here, will be so much gained in regard to the attainments to be secured hereafter. When, therefore, we are exhorted by our Saviour to seek for perfection, we suppose him to be speaking to the spirit of man, not merely as an inhabitant of earth, but as immortal in its nature. We can, with these views, exhort men to seek for perfection in holiness. Are we asked, if this attainment be within the limits of possibility? We answer, that the attainment of perfection in holiness is within the reach of the spiritual nature of man. Are we asked, if it be attainable in this life? We answer, that it is no more important to settle that question, than to determine whether the attainment could be secured at a particular age, the age of forty years, for example. The individual may live on beyond that period. All progress made in holiness before that age, will be so much gain in regard to what is to be made after passing that period. So men will live on after death, and all that is secured before death, will be so much gain in regard to the progress to be made in the spiritual world. Believing, then, that, as spiritual beings, we may reach, and are required to reach, perfection in holiness, we can feel ourselves under obligation to strive strenuously and perseveringly for its attainment; we can put forth volitions to secure it, even though we may be indifferent to the question, whether the object of our efforts will be secured this week or next, this year or next, in this life or in the life that is to come. Still, although by our belief in regard to the connection between this life and the next we are freed from the difficulties which have driven the Oberlin Perfectionists to their peculiar position, we must confess that a perusal of their writings has deepened in our hearts a sense of the importance of constantly aiming at high attainments in holiness.

But the greatest good to be accomplished by the class of Christians of which we are speaking, will be among those with whom they have been, and, we believe, still are connected in their denominational relations. And it will be the result of the entire change, which will be produced in the whole theory of the purpose of Christ's mission on

earth, the nature of all religious influence, and the object of all religious effort. Professor Cowles, in his little work on holiness, gravely discusses the following question: — “What was God’s design in the plan of salvation? Was it merely or chiefly to save men from *hell*, or to save them from *sin*? Did his heart rest chiefly upon some means of pardon, so that he might raise them to heaven, or did it rather rest upon ‘redeeming them from all iniquity,’ restoring his own effaced image in their souls, and making them *fit* for the purity and the songs of the upper temple? The latter most clearly.” This position he proceeds to maintain by able arguments. Among those for whom Professor Cowles especially writes, there was need of a grave and full discussion of this question. Long have views of the atonement been held and advocated and urged upon the attention of the Christian community, which imply, and leave upon the minds of the people the impression, that the purpose of Christ’s mission was to save men from the punishment of sin hereafter, rather than to make them holy here. And what a vast change will be wrought in the Christian community, when it is believed and felt, that Christ’s purpose, and God’s design, was to make men holy — pure, virtuous, upright and affectionate here, as the appropriate preparation for happiness hereafter; — when it is believed and felt, that the great object of all religious effort is, to remove all sin, all social and moral evil from the world, and produce a heavenly state of society on earth, as preparatory to a state of still higher spiritual attainments and spiritual joys above. We hope, yea, we joyfully believe, that the period is approaching, when these views of the purpose of Christ’s mission will pervade the Christian world, when the efforts of all Christians, how widely soever they may be separated in speculative opinion, will be directed to the purification of their own hearts and lives from all unholiness, and to the removal of all wrong-doing from the earth, with a unity of purpose and an energy of will never before known.

J. W.

ART. VII.—LEONARDO DA VINCI'S PAINTING OF THE
LAST SUPPER.

THIS subject is suggested to us by an excellent engraving of the painting, which has lately appeared, executed by an American engraver, Dick. It is esteemed by connoisseurs the best engraving that has been produced on this side of the Atlantic. It is not indeed taken from the original, which in its present state an American artist would hardly be expected to have at once the opportunity and the learning and skill to copy, but from Morghen's celebrated engraving of it, which has been so faithfully reproduced that the two are hardly to be distinguished from each other at the distance at which one generally looks at large pictures. When more nearly scrutinized, there is considerable inferiority in the expression of several of the countenances; as in the mouth of John there is missed a certain mingling of simplicity and sensibility, which we find in the Italian plate, and in more than one of the stronger faces something theatrical has stolen in.

In this country we have so little opportunity to enjoy the fine arts, we are so much shut out from that world of beauty in which not a few of the best minds on the other side of the water have their chief, and a very sweet and beautiful existence, that we cannot but think it a happy circumstance, whenever any of the finished works of the great geniuses of that sphere are brought within our reach, either by excellent copies or by faithful engravings. This painting of Da Vinci's is well known by a multitude of miserable representations, has furnished a wretched frontispiece to many biblical publications, and has been sold in caricatures of many sizes and qualities. The one good engraving of it by Raphael Morghen was so very expensive, as to be beyond the reach of common people. And now this copy of Morghen by Dick is so cheap, that almost anybody may have it. It has already gone up upon many walls, and we feel no little satisfaction in seeing it there. As one of the most beautiful and perfect of all the conceptions of art, it is, even as here engraved, ever valuable; nay, to minds educated to a susceptibility for such things, invaluable and unspeakably interesting, as a thing of beauty,

a representation of life, a combination of genius and the production of a perfectly accomplished talent. But it is also valuable in a religious way, as a very affecting representation of the scene so prominent in the Christian imagination, and symbolical of so much in the Christian world. It preaches more persuasively than a sermon, it comments on the characters of the Apostles more distinctly and graphically than the annotator, and by fixing permanently that great event in a definite form before the eye, it wins the imagination to linger on it, corrects our narrow ideas by the truer and larger conceptions of genius, and becomes the suggestor and the nucleus of a multitude of sacred affections of our own. The introduction of such a work as this into a house is of more importance to those that live in it, than all the ornaments of mechanic art, and might be well purchased with the sacrifice of a convenience. The room becomes somewhat sacred where it is ; a certain moral illumination is spread, and the tempers and occupations of the family are guarded and presided over, as it were by a household angel. At a small price one gets what is much more to him than tapestries and carpets and mirrors. By the magic of art and the multiplication of mechanic contrivance, the poor man ornaments his apartment with the image, which in the happy moments of a sacred age visited and adorned the quiet recesses of a great, a pure and a consummately instructed soul. Thanks to this power of man, with which Heaven has endowed him as if to efface the boundaries of the material world, the chance wanderers from heaven, once seduced into the retreats of earthly genius, are fixed and spell-bound, and made, though covered over indeed with a veil of time, the possession of the race. The material hinders, obscures, decays ; but the conception makes itself known, its representation is copied, repeated, — the vision becomes a permanent part of the imagination of civilized men.

Now that this engraving has attracted the attention of some of our readers, it may not be uninteresting to hear something again of a very old subject, the original painting at Milan. It is no wonder that it is so prominent among pictures and has excited such a distant interest ; for the subject is the greatest of all the fine subjects for the Christian pencil ; the painter was certainly one of the most

distinguished geniuses of his class; and this was the masterpiece even among his works. And still more, it is singled out as the subject of an interest of a very melancholy kind, inasmuch as by a deplorable fortune it has been peculiarly the victim of calamity and decay.

Leonardo da Vinci lived at the time when modern art was arising as part of a newly awakened civilization, and the Church, and the finer imagination of men, to which the Church gave so many subjects and supplied so large a part of its imagery, wanted such an organ as only that could afford; at a time when the pencil supplied, for the mass of the people, the place of the pen and the press, and when the ability to excite and correct and determine the religious imagination made one a leader and former of his generation. He was contemporaneous with the founders of the other schools, with Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Titian. It was in the middle of the fifteenth century, that he was born of an unknown mother at the chateau of Vinci, in the valley of the Arno, where the traveller may still see the ruins of the castellated edifice, in the midst of the little village which it once protected. He was unusually endowed with the qualities which fitted him for the life of a knightly gentleman, bodily strength and dexterity and grace and courtesy of manners; but his governing characteristic being observed to be a passion and faculty for art, he was put by his father under the instruction of a painter and sculptor of no small merit, one Verocchio, under whom he acquired such proficiency that it is said the master in vexation abandoned the art, where he saw such unpractised hands taking from him the palm.

It has been well said,* that the state of the art at that time was such that great genius could display itself with peculiar advantage. "It had been for two centuries emancipated from the stiffness and leanness of the Byzantine school, and it had started on a new course through the imitation of nature and the delineation of the noble traits of character. The artist felt a new impulse, and was successful to that point to which his feelings drove him, and where the instinct of genius was sufficient; but he did not understand his own work, could not give account to him-

* Goethe, *Abendmahl von Leonardo da Vinci*; in his works, vol. 39, Cotta. 1830.

self of what was good in it, or of what was wanting, and knew not how to supply a deficiency if he perceived it." In the works of that time we see the finest conceptions vainly laboring for an adequate expression; they do not fail from want of genius in the painter, but seem to die from the art not being yet adequate to receive and embody them. In all we seem to see a defeated effort, a semi-articulateness, a half-life, like that of the frogs in the mud of the river in the East, which only make out to get half formed, and while their lower extremities still stick in the clay, are stiffened by the increasing heat of the sun.

"Then it was," says Goethe, "that Leonardo da Vinci came; and while he had an eye for the imitation of nature, he had at the same time the insight to perceive that nature had, behind the outwardly apparent which he could so felicitously copy, secret principles of working, which it was the painter's business, as a follower of nature, to discover and apply. He therefore labored to get possession of the laws of organic structure, the principles of proportion, and sought for rules by which he should group, posture, and color his objects in the given field; in short aimed, by getting at the hidden laws according to which all true effects must be produced, to make art not merely the diligent copyist, but the younger sister of nature. He studied especially her workings in the variety of feature, wherein the momentary passions of the mind, as well as its permanent character, stamp themselves on the countenance. In this study he never was weary, and most remarkable fruits of it we have in this picture of the Last Supper."

Thanks to the benign rule of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Leonardo enjoyed during his youth and early manhood that quiet, which is so much loved by men of contemplative minds, and which was a very rare boon at that time in those perpetually distracted and warring Italian republics. If he did not enjoy directly the patronage of Lorenzo, he breathed the new atmosphere which he and his men of letters spread over Florence, and to the age of thirty cultivated the great talent which was to make itself so marvellously felt. In 1482, (not, as Goethe in the essay above quoted erroneously asserts, in consequence of the troublous times which followed the death of Lorenzo, but ten years before that lamented event,) he went, on invita-

tion of Ludovico surnamed il Moro, to Milan, where he was established for seventeen years, the most important period of his life. Here he made himself eminent not merely as a painter, but as a sculptor, a musician, a poet, and an engineer. In all these characters his genius seems to have highly signalized him. He first charmed his patron with his lyre; he sang delicate verses of his own improvisation; he wrote essays on art which remain unrivalled; and in the construction of the canal by which the waters of the Adda are brought through the Val Tellino, a distance of two hundred miles, to the capital, he displayed a knowledge and invention which were at that day unsurpassed. This remains a substantial monument of his skill; but a most singular fatality seems to have hung over the masterpieces of his art, and though his fame can never perish, those works of his in which his consummate powers were most perfectly exhibited, have been from various causes destroyed and utterly lost to the world. This was the case with a colossal equestrian statue, which he modelled at Milan, and which was broken to pieces in an attempt to drag it as part of a great procession through the streets; and after he had restored it, it was again pitched upon as a target by the French soldiers when they took possession of the city in 1599, and thus "the labor of sixteen years" at once annihilated. Then too, a cartoon of the battle of Anghiari, which, on returning in this year to Florence, he had made in competition with Michael Angelo, and which is greatly celebrated by his contemporaries, has been also destroyed, and we know it only by means of a copy which remains. And lastly, the great picture, the engraving of which has suggested these remarks, has faded and mouldered, and experienced almost every calamity which neglect, or presumption, or brutality, or accident, or time could bring upon it, and looks out as it were through a heavy, melancholy mist yet for a few years upon the world, and then will have vanished with its lost sisters into the realm of thought. A sad fatality this, by which such footsteps of angels have been washed away!

But the Demiurgus, by whose wrath those things perished, has allowed other works to remain, and brought down to us many a wondrous image from this son of the harmonies. Besides all that are in Italy, there are the "Christ among

the doctors" of the National Gallery in London, and that indescribable beauty, the celebrated portrait called "Mona Lisa" at the Hague, and at the latter place also a picture of Leda and her children, called by the dunces of the guide-books "Charity," and a few other exceedingly prized pieces which bear the mark of his genius and of his patient hand.

On returning to Florence in the last year of the century, he found no mean rival waiting for him in the person of Michael Angelo, and in popularity and in the patronage of the princes he was obliged to yield to him. This was owing, it is said, to his slowness of execution, which wearied his patrons with waiting, before he had begun to satisfy his own delicate and perfect taste. From this harassing rivalry he escaped, by accepting in 1515 the invitation of Francis I., of France, who had seen at Milan the Last Supper in its first glory, and taking up his residence in a new metropolis. There he lived four years without executing any new works, and died in 1519, as it is related, in the effort to raise himself from his bed when he received a visit from the King.

We turn now to our special subject, the picture of the Last Supper, which Leonardo painted on the wall of the refectory of the Dominican convent at Milan. We will lay before the reader some extracts from the above quoted essay of the great German critic, with the view of assisting him in a comprehension of the meaning, and of the peculiar beauties, difficulties, and calamities of this great work. The essay has been translated, we observe from a notice by Goethe himself, into English, by Noehden, (London, 1821). That translation we have not seen. Perhaps it is not to be found in this country. We are obliged to make such a version as we can from the original.

Goethe begins by remarking, that the place where the picture is painted is first of all to be considered; for that in the choice of the subject in reference to that, the wisdom of the painter is particularly exhibited. "Could anything fitter or nobler be imagined for a refectory, than a Last Supper which was to be sacred for all times and for the whole world?" And herein the picture is particularly interesting to us, — that the subject did not belong peculiarly to the Roman Catholic Church, but to the Church in

all time, and that it was treated in such a manner as to be equally symbolical to every nation and time as to his own. No gilded halos surround the heads, Peter is not burdened with the keys, nor are any saints in monkish garments introduced as assisting; but all is liberal, untechnical, simple, appealing to the Christian heart, nay, to the human heart, to the best and most universal sensibilities of our nature, so that, in the various copies of itself, manifold in their degrees of imperfection, which, while it is fading away, it has called into life, and sent, as it were like messengers from Leonardo's heart, all over Europe and into the residences of other races, it will continue to charm and raise the soul for generations upon generations, wherever tenderness or generosity of heart is found. But by these remarks we interrupt the connexion of our author's criticism. In reference to the happy choice of a subject, he goes on to say:—

“In travelling many years ago we saw this eating-hall, before its original arrangement had been disturbed. Opposite the entrance on the narrow side, at the bottom of the room, stood the table of the prior; along the two sides the tables of the monks, raised all one step above the floor; and when you faced about, you then saw on the fourth wall, over the door, which was not very high, a fourth table painted, and Christ and his disciples seated at it, as if a part of the company. At the hour of eating that must have been indeed a sight to see, the prior's table and Christ's standing over against one another, with the monks' shut in between. And here we understand the wisdom of the painter in taking for his model the very tables there in use. The table-cloth itself, with its creases, its figured stripes and knotted corners, came evidently, too, out of the convent laundry; and the dishes, plates, cups and other table furniture one may see are taken from those which the friars habitually used.”

Goethe goes on to say, that “this was not the time for attempting an approximation to an uncertain obsolete posture,”—that to have stretched out the sacred company here on cushions, after the fashion of the ancients, would have greatly impaired the effect; for now “the past was to be approximated to the present, and Christ be made to sup with the Dominicans in Milan.”

In other respects also the management of the subject was such that it could not fail to produce a great effect. "About ten feet above the ground, the thirteen figures, all drawn half larger than life, occupy a space of eight and twenty Paris feet in length. Only two of them, at the opposite ends of the table, are seen entire; the rest are half-figures. And in this the artist found his advantage in necessity. All moral expression belongs exclusively to the upper part of the body; and the feet are in such cases as this always in the way. Here then the painter grouped eleven figures, leaving them concealed below the waist by the table and table-cloth, and letting the feet scarcely appear in modest twilight below.

"Now let one transport himself to the spot, imagine the decorum and outward quiet, which reign in the dining-hall of a religious establishment, — and admire the artist, who breathes into his composition a passionate agitation, and while he brings it as near to nature as possible, puts it in contrast with the surrounding reality."

The cause of this agitation is, of course, understood to be the declaration of Christ, "Verily I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me," — one of you is about to betray me, — referring to an immediate danger, an impending fate. The words have already been spoken, and all the company are thrown thereby into the greatest alarm. "He sits in silence, his eyes cast downward, his head gently inclined, the whole attitude, the gesture of the arms and hands, all repeating the same melancholy declaration: 'Yes; it is even so! there is one among you who betrays me.'"

We will now quote Goethe's observations on a peculiar means by which expression is given to the figures, and then his comments on the figures severally, as to what, especially, we are to understand them to express; for here there is variety of judgment, and the little pamphlet that is sold with this American engraving gives but a miserable and beggarly account of the matter. We will lay our author's criticism before the reader without interrupting it with any remarks of our own.

"Before we go farther, we must speak of a great means, by which chiefly Leonardo enlivens this picture, — the movement, namely, of the hands; which is what only an Italian

could have invented. With his nation the whole body is full of soul, all the members take part in every expression of feeling, of passion, of thought. By means of different shapings and motions of the hands the Italian says in effect: 'What is that to me! — Come hither! — That is a rogue, beware of him! — He will not live long! — This is an important point. Mark this well, my hearers!' To such a peculiarity Leonardo, who gave the greatest heed to every thing characteristic, must have directed his searching eye. In this respect the present picture is unique; and one cannot consider it too closely. Every gesture is perfectly consonant with the corresponding expression of the countenance; in addition to which there is a connection and contrast of the different members of the composition, which the eye immediately comprehends, and which is exceedingly admirable.

"In general the figures on either side of the Lord may be considered together in threes, as in each case they are conceived by the artist, too, thus in union, and related together; while at the same time they are held in reference to their neighbors. First on the right hand of Christ, John, Judas, Peter.

"Peter, the farthest off, moves, agreeably to his impetuous character, on hearing the words of the Lord, rapidly up behind Judas, who looking upwards in fright, bends forward over the table, with the right hand holds firmly grasped the purse, and with the left makes an involuntary spasmodic motion, as if to say, 'What may that mean? What is to come of that?' Peter has meanwhile with his left hand laid hold on the right shoulder of John, pointing to Christ, and at the same time instigating the beloved disciple to ask, who the traitor is. A knife-handle in his right hand he thrusts by accident involuntarily into the ribs of Judas; and thus a cause is happily devised for that frightened, forward movement of his. By this movement he overturns a salt-cellar," (an accident deemed by the superstitious peculiarly ominous, the introduction of which here is called in question, as of very doubtful propriety.) "This group may be regarded as the first conceived of the picture; it is the most perfect.

"While now on the right of the Lord, without any violence of gesture, a threat is made of immediate revenge, there

spring up on the left the most lively amazement and horror at the treachery. James the elder starts back with terror, spreads wide his arms, and with head bowed down looks fixedly, and motionless, forward, like one who thinks he sees the horror of which he has just heard. Thomas appears behind his shoulder, and approaching the Saviour, raises the forefinger of his right hand towards his forehead. Philip, the third of this group, produces the most lovely effect in rounding it; he has got up, bends forward towards the Master, lays his hands on his breast, saying most clearly, 'Lord, it is not I! Thou knowest it! Thou knowest my pure heart. It is not I.'

"And the neighboring and last three on this side give us new matter for consideration. They are conversing on the terrible thing they have heard of. Matthew turns his face with ardor to his two fellows on the left, while he stretches out his hands swiftly towards the Master, and thus, by means of the most exquisite stroke of art, binds his group with the preceding. Thaddeus shows the most violent astonishment, doubt and suspicion; he has laid the left hand open on the table, and raised the right in such a manner, as if he were about to strike with the back of it into the left; a gesture which is yet seen in men of natural character, when they at some unexpected incident would express, 'Did not I say so! Have not I always supposed it!' Simon, extremely dignified, sits at the end of the table, and in consequence we see his whole figure; he, the eldest of all, is richly clad with folding drapery; his countenance and gesture show that he is struck and thoughtful, but not agitated nor hardly moved.

"If we now turn our eyes directly to the opposite end of the table, we see Bartholomew, who stands on his right foot, with the left thrown over it, supporting his forward-bent body with both hands laid quietly on the table. He is listening, probably to hear what answer John's question will obtain from the Lord; for it appears to be from this whole side that the suggestion of that inquiry has proceeded. James the younger, next to and behind Bartholomew, lays the left hand on Peter's shoulder, as Peter his on John's; but James mildly, merely desiring information, while Peter already threatens revenge. And so too, in like manner as Peter presses forward behind Judas, James the less reaches

forward behind the Apostle Andrew, who, as one of the most important figures, with half-raised arms shows full the palms of his expanded hands,—a decisive expression of amazement, occurring only once in this picture, though in other works of this artist, which are conceived with less genius and thoroughness, but too often repeated.”

This will, we think, give to common beholders a better idea of the significance of this so well known composition, and we must think that it is, for the most part, exceedingly well and acutely observed. We will use our German friend still farther for the sake of acquainting the reader with some of the *technical methods* which Leonardo followed in the preparation of his work, the cause, alas! in part, of the ruin into which it has fallen.

“Leaving now much unsaid concerning form and feature, gesture, drapery, let us turn to another part of the matter, from which we can expect nothing but sorrow. That is the mechanical, chemico-physical, and technical means, which the artist applied in preparation of this noble work. From the latest investigations it is but too clear, that it was painted on the wall *in oil*. This mode of painting, which had for a long time been in use, must have recommended itself extremely to Leonardo, who with his fine eye for nature aimed to penetrate into her inmost secrets, that he might again invest them with form and make them felt anew.

“How great and daring was this ambition is obvious, when we consider that nature works innerly, and must prepare infinitely various means before she becomes, after a thousand trials, capable of developing the organs out of one another and upon one another, and of producing such a form as that of man; which, while it reveals the highest inward perfections, seems rather anew to conceal than to solve the enigma of nature.

“Now to represent conscientiously the inward in the outward, the greatest masters made their highest and only aim; they aspired not only to copy with exact truth the conception of the object, but the copy must take the place of nature herself, nay, in realization of the idea outdo her. In this attempt the greatest completeness and detail were, first of all, requisite; which imply a slow and gradual proceeding. And then it was indispensable, that there should

be opportunity for correction. These advantages, as well as many more, are secured in oil-painting.

"It has been found, accordingly, after strict investigation, that Leonardo laid on upon the plastering of the wall a mixture of mastic, pitch, and other ingredients, with a warm iron. And then, in order to procure a perfectly smooth ground, as well as greater security against outward influences, he gave the whole a delicate coat of white lead, and of yellow and fine ochres. But even this providence appears to have injured the work; for although this delicate coat, so long as the pigments laid on it continued supplied with oil, sustained itself from them, it lost, as the oil dried up, its consistency and began to split, and then the dampness of the wall got in and begat mould from which the picture by degrees grew dim."

Goethe then gives the many other causes of the picture's ruin. The wall, built by the monks on compulsion, contained very deleterious materials; and their injurious qualities were brought out by the dampness of the place, which was so low as to be several times laid under water. Then the disorders of war and innumerable other misfortunes, which fell upon Lombardy in the first half of the sixteenth century, caused it to be entirely neglected and abandoned to its fate. In the middle of that century it is already spoken of as half-destroyed. At last the whole precious surface, cracking up in little crusts, began to scale off and fall down piece-meal. "A century after this," to use the words of an Edinburgh reviewer, "the venerable fathers, whose lot it was to occupy the same room with it during a very interesting portion of the day, observing (with their wonted sagacity) that the straight line which joined their table and the kitchen passed through the centre of the picture, and by no means through the door, and aware, from instinctive science, that the straight line between those two points was the shortest, thought proper to cut through the wall and destroyed a part of the principal figure, and the two next it." The very efforts for its preservation were among the causes of its ruin. In 1726 one Bellotti was employed by the ignorant monks to freshen it, and covered it accordingly from top to bottom with a secret varnish, and again in 1770 one Mazza, being commissioned to "restore" it, actually proceeded to paint over all the

heads, and even dared to scrape the plastering in some places smooth with an instrument of iron ; until the general outcry of its pious admirers put a stop to his work, while the heads of Matthew, Thaddeus and Simon yet remained untouched.

When Bonaparte led his victorious army into Italy, the fame of this picture drew him to the spot, and there he signed on his knees an order that the place should be respected. But the generals who came after him disregarded this command, beat in the door and turned the apartment into a stable. The filthy exhalations collected on the walls, and trickling down left their marks all over the surface on which Leonardo had labored with such precious and patient art. At last however the place was cleared, and the doorway walled up, and visitors could get in to see it only through the pulpit, from which in old times a monk harangued the company assembled at the tables below. Afterwards, in time of peace, it was again made clean and approachable, but remains unfurnished and desolate, and the painting irrecoverable. Not that, as is sometimes represented, it no longer presents anything beautiful to the eye. It is not yet *destroyed*. You have still before you a wondrous vision, but seen as 'through a glass, darkly,' like much else that is divine in the world.

Fortunately several copies were made at a very early date, one by Marco da Oggione, a pupil of the painter, (whom Lanzi thinks is to be reckoned among the best of the Milanese painters,) in the life-time of Leonardo, for the refectory of the convent at Castellazzo, where it is still preserved. In this copy there is a tradition that the master himself painted the head of the Saviour, which he never could prevail on himself to finish and left uncompleted in his own picture. Indeed, herein it is thought that Leonardo failed, and must have failed ; that however it may be with the Apostles, no work of the hand can fill the Christian's idea of his Saviour ; and that the greater the genius of the painter to call such a scene as this before us, the more evident must be his incapacity to portray that divine person, who is the centre of it. Vinci began with the Apostles and left the figure of Christ till the last, thinking that he would have grown to that greater measure by passing up to it through the rest. But he was doomed to feel

then the inadequacy of art. What the heart demanded he found not the talent to portray. If he used a less timid hand in inserting the head of the Master in the copy at Castellazzo, that circumstance enhances the value of Morgen's engraving, which is taken from that copy.

G. F. S.

ART VIII.—NOYES'S PROVERBS, ECCLESIASTES, AND CANTICLES.*

No writer in our language, either on this or the other side of the sea, has rendered such valuable service as Dr. Noyes, in that department of Sacred Literature, to which the volume before us belongs. We do not say this inconsiderately. We will take in the whole series of translations of the Hebrew Scriptures into the English tongue, extending over nearly a hundred years, from Chappelow and Heath, through Bishop Lowth and his school, down to Rev. Alfred Jenour and Albert Barnes, and maintain that no one among them all has deserved so well as our Hebrew Professor at Harvard College. His first work was an "Amended Version of the Book of Job," printed so long ago as 1827; of which a second edition appeared in 1838, in an improved form, with corrections and additions. His "New Translation of the Book of Psalms" followed in 1831, and of this we are glad to learn that another edition is preparing. The greater labor of "A New Translation of the Hebrew Prophets, arranged in chronological order," was given to the public in three volumes; the first in 1833, and the other two in 1837. All these works were noticed in our journal from time to time, as they were brought forward; and on each successive occasion with a praise, that deserves to be on the increase. This eminent success has long made us wish that we might have at least one volume more from the same hand, corresponding to the rest, and completing what is called the Hagiographa of the Old Testament. The wish is at

* *A New Translation of the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles, with Introductions, and Notes, chiefly explanatory.* By GEORGE R. NOYES, D.D., Hancock Professor of Hebrew, etc., and Dexter Lecturer in Harvard University. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1846. 12mo. pp. 290.

last gratified by the book that we propose to make at present the subject of a few remarks.

We must acknowledge, that it does not carry with it the attractiveness or importance of its predecessors. Its subjects are inferior. What can come after the sublime dramatic poem of Job; the religious odes of the Hebrew minstrels, ranging through every variety of tones, from the groan of the penitent to the shout of the conqueror, with the harp of King David ringing at their head; and the "goodly fellowship of the Prophets," not gathered into a circle, but spreading down in a line, from Joel and Amos to Malachi, over a space of four hundred years? What can be added to a divine train like this, and hope to share the same honors, or to close it upon equal terms? The homely wisdom of the Proverbs must seem tame, we are ready to think, and the gloomy prose of the Preacher repulsive, compared with the impassioned strains of a poetry that has filled the earth with the holy breath of its devotion. And as for the love-verses of the Canticles, — for that is all they are, — they never seemed to us very captivating specimens even of their own kind; so alien is the extravagant imagery of the old Eastern world, from the ideas and tastes of modern refinement.

And yet we shall see reason, on reflection, to qualify the judgment thus broadly expressed, not a little. We do not think this volume less interesting than those that went before it. It certainly does not yield to them at all in the careful ability with which it has been written. In some respects it has even the advantage over them. It is much richer in its annotations than either of the rest, with the exception of Job. Its contents admit of its being illustrated throughout with the most agreeable and various learning. It gives a satisfactory answer, also, to many questions of curiosity, which will rise in the minds of the most cursory readers of the Jewish Scriptures, and which have perplexed the judgments of the most attentive.

The Book of Proverbs is much more than its name would seem to indicate. It contains long passages of the noblest order of beauty, and sustained upon the highest flight of imagination. We need but instance in the two descriptions of Wisdom in the eighth and ninth chapters. Neither are its sententious sayings of a dull and monotonous

character. Sometimes they are witty ; and it is pleasant to have them brushed from the dust that time and mistake have strown over them, and made to sparkle with something of their original playfulness. Sometimes they are enigmatical, and dark as a riddle ; and then there is a satisfaction in having them cleared up by one whose researches have qualified him for the task. It is also true of it, as our author says in his Introduction, that "in a moral and religious point of view it is one of the most valuable portions of the Old Testament ; giving a view of the Jewish religion and morality, as pervading the common life of the people, much more favorable than that which we receive from the accounts of the ceremonies and forms which are elsewhere enjoined."

When we pass from this book to that of Ecclesiastes, we come into an entirely different region. It is like leaving the open fields and the sunny hills for tangled thickets and dark, overhanging woods. The sounds that we hear around us are plaintive, full of doubt and woe. The thoughts that occupy us do not go abroad over nature, or deal with the pursuits and duties of practical life, but rather turn inward with a melancholy scrutiny upon a troubled mind. The scene is not laid in the house, or by the way, but among the mysterious problems of our being. The style of the original language, as the scholar reads it, is altogether of a different stamp from that of the foregoing book. Professor Stuart, in speaking of this difference, tells us that "Chaucer does not differ more from Pope than Ecclesiastes from Proverbs." The wording of this comparison is not a happy one. We might suppose at first that he meant to say just the reverse of what he intends ; for it is the former work that carries so strongly the mark of a later date, and not the other, as the unlearned reader might be led to think from the Professor's language. It is a just comparison, however, in the point that was the only one designed. Ecclesiastes, or "Cohleth," as he prefers to call it, is written in a harsh, barbarous speech, that falls far below the courtly language of Solomon, in the golden age of the Hebrew Commonwealth, or of any of the writers that lived before the Captivity at Babylon.

The book has always found censurers, also, on account of its complaining and skeptical spirit ; its dangerous doc-

trines, or its want of sound doctrine; and the strange inconsistencies that startle us between one part of it and another. Jerome, in the close of his commentary upon it, at xii. 13, writes thus: "The Hebrews say, that among other writings of Solomon that were worn out of use and retained no memory, this also seemed worthy of being effaced, since it pronounces the creatures of God to be vain, and accounts everything as nothing, and prefers eating and drinking and transient delights to all besides. But it deserves its authority, if but for this sentence alone, and should be placed in the number of the divine volumes, because it condenses its whole dispute and its whole description into the epitome, — that we should fear God, and keep his commandments." Dr. Noyes, in his Introduction to it, makes the best vindication of its author that the cause admits of. He describes him "as a man of wisdom, virtue and religion, according to the light which he had; not a fatalist, nor a skeptic, nor an Epicurean, in any offensive sense of those terms." With regard to "the seeming (?) inconsistencies" that run through it, we entirely agree with him in rejecting the theory, that would reconcile them by throwing the work into the form of dialogue; as some most learned men have done.* We recorded that dissent almost thirty years ago; on the grounds, that no such lines of division could be satisfactorily or fairly drawn, — that there was not a single direct reply anywhere, or anything like discussion, — and that finally, as an insuperable objection, on this supposition Solomon, "the wise king," would be the rash complainer, who was rebuked by the Mentor at his side. Certainly no romancer, writing under the fictitious name of another, would have been guilty of so stupid an invention as that. We agree, likewise, that there is no occasion for resorting to such an hypothesis. And yet it would hardly have arisen, if the inconsistencies had not been startling, and if there had not been a real difficulty in the case. This difficulty is well met and replied to, in the Introduction to which we have just referred. But there is another element

* Herder and Eichhorn suppose a dialogue held between two. Seiler, though the author of an excellent work on Hermeneutics, or the Laws of Interpretation, takes refuge in the hypothesis of three persons engaged in the conversation.

in the solution, which we consider to be of great importance. This is, the natural fluctuation of a disturbed and vehement spirit. Let us but imagine a mind contending with itself. Then both the obscurity and objection will grow less, if they do not disappear. Such a mind is now desponding, and now encouraged; at one time almost impious, and then returning to its sober reason; here wandering without rest, and there setting up some principle to which it fastens its confidence, or endeavors to do so. Is it inconsistent? Inconsistency is the very language of passionate and unsettled thoughts. The whole impression that the reading leaves upon us, we must acknowledge, is a sad one, — sad as a great part of human experience is, and of God's word also, — but in no degree is it immoral. The work favors nothing that resembles the worldling's merriment, or the cynic's indifference, or the fatalist's despair; but, on the contrary, is fixed in opposition to them all. It draws no conclusion that is at variance with its last words, which inculcate piety and obedience. It is one of the most affecting books that the canon contains, and none the less so for being far behind that full assurance of faith, which the Gospel only can inspire. It may be read with edification by all classes of persons; especially with the aid of such a translator and critic as it has now found.

We do not mean to say, that in every instance the sense that he attaches to the original is the one that recommends itself to us the most. In the doubtful passage, for example, iii. 11, which reads according to him: "God makes every thing good in its time; but he has put the world into the heart of man, so that he understands not the work which God does, from the beginning to the end;" we cannot help preferring the version of our old friends Augusti and De Wette: "He hath made everything beautiful in its time; also he hath set *the everlasting* in their heart; although no mortal can find out the work that God doeth, either from the beginning, or to the end." So in the 18th verse of the same chapter, we feel attached to the meaning which the same distinguished scholars have given it: "I said in my heart: concerning the sons of Adam, God has separated them (from all other creatures,) to see *if* they would account themselves as beasts." Our author's version is: "I said in my heart concerning the sons of men, that

God will prove them and see *that* they are like the beasts." If we are not entirely convinced that he is right by his elaborate note at the place, (p. 234,) we confess it somewhat mistrustfully, and with great deference to his larger attention to the subject, and profounder knowledge. It is not easy to come to a perfect agreement, and see things alike, in the midst of so much obscurity. Before leaving this question of *meanings*, — a question which we scarcely ever have felt disposed to raise with him through the whole course of his labors, — we would fain point to one passage more, that occurs in Proverbs xxv. 11. Our common translation has it: "A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver;" — a well-sounding comparison certainly, but not a very distinct one. We have indulged ourselves with thinking, ever since we engaged in these studies, that we might render it, — "apples of gold in baskets of silver," which would give not only a clear sense, but a very beautiful and appropriate one. So, or nearly enough so, Augusti and De Wette understood it, in their admirable German translation: "apples of gold in dishes of silver." But Dr. Noyes crosses our comfort by showing us "apples of gold with figures of silver," which is really next to showing us nothing at all. We not only find no aptness in the similitude, but no visible image whatever. He indeed refers us to Gesenius, as proving that the rendering which we desire "is not supported by Hebrew usage." We suppose he must be right. At the same time we are almost tempted to say, that if there is no authority for it, there ought to be.

The next book in the volume is the Canticles, or Solomon's Song, as it is commonly called. We cannot refer to it without remembering the saying of a witty divine, that he could see no other reason why the "Song of Solomon" was admitted into the Jewish Canon, while the "Wisdom of Solomon" had to content itself with its place in the Apocrypha, but that mankind loved singing better than instruction. We are not disposed to spend many words upon what is so little to our liking, though we completely justify its new translator in the course that he has taken in relation to it. We are glad that he did not conclude "to pass it by in significant and prudent silence." The simple fact that it is found where it is, was reason enough why he

should not have omitted it. The custom, that has been all but universal, of trying to allegorize it into some spiritual significance, lends it an interest apart from its own merits, and quite beyond them. There is weight, too, in the suggestion which he makes in his Introduction to it, that "even the cause of religion demands that it should be understood to be what it is." He has connected with it, both here and in his notes, a great deal of pleasant and useful information, such as will be welcome to the scholar, and at the same time can be appreciated by any intelligent reader. One of the most important topics thus touched on, is that which relates to the forming of the Old Testament into one collection; the principles had in view in the doing of it; and the time when it was probably done. These questions were naturally, if not unavoidably, brought up, in commenting on so strange a poem, or rather snatches of poetry, as "the Song of Songs." He is led to several very sensible remarks upon them, extending from the 136th to the 142d page. But we will get away from this part of our subject as fast as we can; — not without an apprehension that the Professor himself has lavished more learning than was necessary in illuminating this amatory rhapsody. We are willing to leave it to the Orientals, or whoever else can see any excellence in it. For our own part we frankly confess that it never delighted us.

We have a few words to say, and wish that we could make them more, as to the general correctness of taste that Dr. Noyes has displayed in accomplishing his long task. Much more than mere learning is needed, however accurate and various that may be, in order to make a good translation of writings like these, so peculiar in themselves, and so sacredly associated with the old words in which we have heard them read from our infancy. It is important, that he who undertakes such an office should be a master of all the resources of language, and have a nice discernment of the least shades of meaning. He should be wholly free from affectation. He should throw no finery of his own over the venerated pages. He should avoid all unusual phrases. He should employ a uniform style, neither colloquial nor inflated. He should respect the idioms of the tongue from which he translates. He should not deviate without cause from the simple forms of speech to which the readers

of the common version have been accustomed. This last consideration it is of special consequence to keep in view. No one should translate the Hebrew Scriptures into English, as if they had not been so translated before. The general pattern is set up, according to which he is to work. He cannot vary much from the figures of its phraseology, which time has endeared and hallowed, without giving reasonable offence.

Great trespasses have been committed against all these directions. Indeed, few of the English translators can be named, who have not sinned gravely on one or another of these counts. We might easily amuse or amaze our readers, by quoting examples in each kind, and from names, too, that have enjoyed no little reputation. Drs. Geddes, Good and Adam Clarke would furnish rare specimens. But rather than find fault with others, we would proceed at once to what we conceive to be the merits of the translator who has risen up among ourselves. He is remarkably free from the blemishes that have just been alluded to. His perception is true, his judgment sober, his taste pure. He commits no extravagances. He violates none of the rules of a sound criticism. We are anxious that he should receive great praise for such qualifications, because they are so seldom to be found. We pay him our most ample respect for the good sense, as well as the accurate learning, that he has brought to his task. If we could allow ourselves to qualify in the least these remarks, we should be tempted to say, that he might sometimes have kept closer to the common version than he has, and to the old idioms of the East, without any loss of clearness and with some gain in point of strength. In his anxiety to be simple, he may occasionally have allowed himself to be tame; and this, though a minor fault and on every account less than the one it would avoid, is to be regretted in a work of so much excellence. For example, that beautiful expression of the Psalmist, *cvii. 10*, "bound in affliction and iron," loses its spirit, when rendered, "bound with grievous irons." The ancient form of the hendiadys should certainly have been retained. It would have been a happy boldness, too good to be lost, even if it were but the invention of his predecessors; but it has the advantage of being literally exact.

We will cite another instance, that we think still more

illustrative of what we wish to say. The Book of Ecclesiastes opens as with a lament and cry: "Vanity of vanities!" We cannot feel the force of Dr. Noyes's objection to this form of language. He tells us, that it is "a Hebraism which does not harmonize with the English idiom, and to some persons does not convey a distinct idea." We are compelled to dissent from this; and in our opinion he has enfeebled a plain and striking expression, by translating it, as he has:—"mere vanity." We ought in justice, however, to add, that he himself "had some hesitation in regard to substituting this phrase for the well-known" one. We wish we had more such Hebraisms. There is a charm about them. We would restore them in some cases even where King James's divines, as well as Professor Noyes, have failed to represent them. That passage of Jonah, for example,—in the last verse but one of the book,—which says of the gourd, that it "came up in a night and perished in a night," would sound more agreeably to our ears, if rendered, as it might be:—"as son of a night it arose, and as son of a night vanished." There is a certain poetical effect, that is worth securing when we can fairly come by it. Who would be satisfied with the turning of Homer's "sons of the Greeks" into "Grecians;" or Moses' "Children of Israel" into "Israelites?" Again, at Ecclesiastes xi. 10: "childhood and youth are vanity." The original is, "*youth and the morning*;" which is a much finer expression. It is true that the morning is only a poetical image of young life; but it is a beautiful image, and ought to have been preserved. We grant, however, that these are mere questions of taste, and ours perhaps is too partially inclined towards the antique and the strong. We must mention, however, before we close, as an instance of unnecessary and unfortunate departure from the received version, the whole passage in the third chapter of Ecclesiastes, from the first to the tenth verse. We do not think that it was in any need of critical assistance. It is much more terse and elegant in the form to which we have been accustomed. The reason for the change, assigned in the note, does not seem to us satisfactory; and could never reconcile us to give up the simple phrase, "a time to break down and a time to build up," for so uncouth a one as, "breaking down has its time, and its time building up."

That the "time" here repeatedly spoken of is that of God's appointment, and not of man's choosing, seems manifest enough from the opening sentence: "a time to be born, and a time to die." We see here no ambiguity that needed to be guarded against.

We now take leave of these biblical translations, a completed series of six volumes, with our sincere thanks to the writer for the favor that he has thus done the public. And when we say the public, we mean the public. Some may suppose that these books are only designed for the use of students and learned men. We assure them that it is not so. They are for all reading and thoughtful persons. Christians in general should take an interest in them. They will find them valuable helps to the understanding and appreciation of these precious remains of sacred antiquity. Who does not read the Bible? And who that has a thoroughly awakened desire to learn what it contains, might not wisely avail himself of the services of so safe and able an instructor? The Latin and Greek may be left to those who understand it. If there is anything too nice in criticism, or too profound in investigation, it may be passed over by all who take no pleasure in such inquiries. But all this together makes but a very small part of the contents of these volumes. The rest is for everybody, who loves to look into the records of the religion and commonwealth of the most remarkable people on the face of the earth; to trace in the predictions of a former faith the foreshadowing of his own; or even but to entertain and kindle his mind with the most fervid strains of poetic inspiration that the world has ever listened to. We hope, therefore, to see the whole course, — and especially that new edition of the Psalms which we are eagerly expecting, — in the smallest libraries and upon parlor tables. The books are sightly, and of a convenient size and arrangement for the most common reference. They are encumbered as little as possible with what any one can consider superfluous. They are as compact as their fulness of thought admits of, and as easy as anything that professes to require study need or can be. We can only express the wish, that in the future editions of the Psalms and the Prophets the translator may greatly increase the number of his annotations.

Dr. Noyes has begun in the right place, — with the

poetic, prophetic and didactic parts of the Old Testament. We wish that he may be so encouraged by the reception of these, as to proceed now to put his hand to the historical portions. The Pentateuch would furnish a suitable subject for his scholar-like industry.

N. L. F.

ART. IX. — REV. JOHN BRAZER, D. D.

DIED, at the house of his friend and class-mate, Dr. Benjamin Huger, of South Carolina, on the twenty-sixth of February, 1846, Rev. John Brazer, D. D. of Salem, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

He was born in Worcester, September 21, 1789. For a time he was employed in a mercantile house in Boston, but his tastes led him into widely different pursuits, and he was graduated at Harvard College, with the highest honors of his class, in 1813. In 1815 he was appointed Tutor, and in 1817 Professor of Latin in Harvard College, where he continued about five years. On Tuesday, November 14, 1820, he was ordained Pastor of the North Society in Salem, in which place he continued till his death, more than a quarter of a century. From an article in the Salem Gazette we learn, that "he was the third pastor of that society. Rev. Dr. Barnard, the first minister, having been ordained January 13, 1773, continued his pastoral relation there till his sudden and lamented death, October 1, 1814. The gifted and pious Abbot succeeded him, and was ordained on the twentieth of the April following. He died October 7, 1819, after a lingering illness of upwards of two years. Thus the pastoral office has been vacant but twenty months, from the first settlement to the present time, a period of more than seventy-three years."

Dr. Brazer held always a prominent place in the community where he resided, and among the members of his own profession. Judge Story, Judge Putnam, Col. Benjamin Pickman, and Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, were among the parishioners who entertained a high opinion of his talents, and the late Dr. Bowditch, though never a parishioner, left him at his death a small legacy as a token of his

confidence and respect. He was for several years Secretary of the Bible Society of Salem and vicinity, and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was also a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University, from which institution he received the degree of S. T. D. in 1836.

We have always supposed that Dr. Brazer was one of the most accurate of our classical scholars. He was a hard student, and a diligent and successful one. Two articles on Cemeteries, one in the *Christian Examiner* and the other in the *North American Review*, and an article on Mill's Logic in a recent number of the latter journal, show how far and how thoroughly he sometimes pursued studies which lie only upon the borders of his profession.

As a theologian, he was clear, systematic, and exact. A series of discourses which he gave on the Atonement, we have heard spoken of by one competent to judge, as a most complete and satisfactory elucidation of that difficult subject. He spared no pains to make himself master of what he wished to teach; and never in his writings permitted himself to go beyond the bounds of his knowledge. His attainments, therefore, were uncommon in extent, and still more so in the distinctness with which they were brought out. His theological views were clear and precisely defined, indicating more the laborious scholar and exact reasoner than the profound and original thinker.

The efficacy of prayer and the influence of the Divine spirit, were always with him favorite topics. He longed earnestly, as a great want of his nature, for the strength which can thus alone be given to us in our weakness, and the encouragement which in our despondency we can receive only from God. In 1832 he published a tract on Prayer, which may be read with profit by those who have philosophical doubts on the subject. In 1835 he published quite an extended treatise on Divine Influence, which may serve as an exhibition of his powers as a writer. The subject is minutely and exactly reasoned out; objections are sought, examined, and refuted; the true doctrine defined and established; the abuses, to which it is liable, pointed out and guarded against; and all this is done so thoroughly, that, if the spirit of prayer and devout reliance be not quickened within us, we are at least well informed upon

the subject, our intellectual scruples are silenced, while the reasonableness and advantage of faith in the ever present and sustaining presence of God are clearly understood.

A single paragraph we subjoin, not only to show Dr. Brazer's power as a writer, but to afford some slight idea of his own spiritual experience and insight.

"As another proof of the reality of God's presence to the human soul, we add, in conclusion, that of Experience. We speak here of no mystical influence, but of one which is clear, distinct, rational, and matter of habitual consciousness with the truly pious spirit. It is a religious peace; a holy joy in God, in His Son, and in the revelations of His will, that no words can adequately express. The soul, thus visited from on high, will perceive, that Christian truth is to all its capacities like light to the eye, each being made for the other; that the revelation of the Gospel is but the enlargement and confirmation of all other truth; that it interprets all the secrets of our mysterious nature; meets all its inner wants; answers to all its higher aspirations; solves all the dark problems of Providence; presents a noble aim to life; gives an all-concerning significance to human conduct; relieves the mind from the anguish of uncertainty respecting the future, from the distress of conflicting passions, from the solicitations of bad desire, from the opposition between duty and feeling, from the stings of remorse, and all the sad requitals of an outraged and hostile conscience. The spirit, thus touched of God, experiences what is emphatically called in the Scriptures a "joy in believing." It opens, continually, to new displays of His exhaustless love; perceives, more and more clearly, His stupendous plan of grace in the salvation of man; attains a blessed consciousness of thinking worthily and acting well; and gains more and more of that temper of our Divine Master, which elevates, tranquilizes, amends, and hallows the life. In every dark hour, its language will be, as it has been, 'O what a power there is in the Infinite Mind of Deity, to communicate itself to the soul that looks singly to Him for comfort and support! The greater the exigence, the more perfect the adaptation; the more troubled the sea is around us, the more we feel the security and firmness of our hold upon the Rock of Ages!' In a word, the spirit, thus guided from above, will experience, more and more, that the Saviour's parting promise of 'peace' to his immediate disciples is not confined to them, but is fulfilled to his faithful followers now; that it is, indeed, 'his peace;' that it is given, in very truth, 'not as the world giveth;' that it adds to every token of Divine Beneficence some relishes of heavenly blessedness; makes the whole creation one august temple for praise; renders life one continued offering of

love and homage; and clothes every event, even while it is 'seen and temporal,' with the sublimer wisdom of 'things unseen and eternal.' — pp. 142 – 144.

These same qualities which we have noticed, marked his preaching, which was, we should say, peculiarly intellectual and moral, — appealing more to the reason and conscience, than to the delicate sensibilities of our nature and those vague, but powerful emotions, which reach out towards the infinite and eternal. He was no dealer in paradoxes or startling assertions, but presented the great doctrines of Christian truth with the limitations and qualifications which must necessarily belong to them in their manifold applications. He was bold to rebuke the fashionable sins and follies of the day, but may not have been equally skilled in reaching the affections of his hearers, and through all their tender sympathies winning and binding them to Christ. Religion was perhaps with him more a life of severe and solemn duties, than a delightful offering of the soul to God, enjoining acts of painful self-denial, but cheered by hopes and promises, by inward joys and silent thoughts, the dearest and most inspiring that man can know.

Few ministers have been so faithful and laborious in their preparations for the pulpit; and few have been in the habit of giving discourses so elaborate and thoroughly finished. He used to say, that he never began upon a new discourse without trying to make it a better sermon than he had ever written before, and that he seldom went into the pulpit without feeling that in the study he had done the best that it was in his power to do. His published writings bear marks of this same elaborate care. The discourse which he preached after the death of Dr. Holyoke is, in its literary execution, in the fidelity and exactness of its delineations, and the tone of feeling that runs through it, almost a model for that species of composition.

Dr. Brazer's later discourses on Col. Pickman and Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, parishioners such as it is the misfortune of few ministers to lose or their privilege to have, are distinguished for their severe fidelity and discriminating acuteness. They contain nothing that savors of the unmeaning eulogy, which so often impairs our confidence in what are called funeral sermons. Indeed we should rather object to them, that they are too much a sharp intellectual

analysis, and have too little to soothe the feelings of bereaved affection through the ministrations of a divine consolation. But the measure which he meted to others, he asked for himself. A short time before his departure for the South, talking with the brother who has since preached his funeral discourse, in allusion to the possible occurrence of such an event, he said with earnestness, "Let there be no panegyric."

As a pastor, Dr. Brazer was particularly attentive to the destitute, the sick and the afflicted. "To you," he said, "who are prosperous and happy, it is of little consequence whether I come or not." But there are those who remember how constant and how thoughtful he was in his attentions to them through long and wearisome weeks or months of sickness, though he may seldom have visited them at other times. And the poor he did not neglect, but, as the almoner of a wealthy and generous society, was always faithful to them. In one of his last letters to his family he enjoined it upon them, to "remember his poor." "Remember the poor!" How much of that charity, which covereth the multitude of sins, is contained in these words, and how at his death do our feelings warm and soften towards him who has been true to their meaning. "I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; naked, and ye clothed me. Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." There is no part of a minister's life on which at its close he may look back with richer satisfaction.

Dr. Brazer had been most happy in the nearest of domestic relations, and the death of his wife, in February, 1843, was a blow from which, in the opinion of those who knew him best, he never entirely recovered. From that time he suffered severely from what after his death was found to be an organic affection of the heart, till early this last winter, when it was often only with extreme difficulty, that he could go through with the labors of the Sabbath. The last sermon which he preached to his own people — in the same pulpit from which Dr. Greenwood preached for the last time — was on the first Sunday in the year, from the words, "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap;" and was spoken of at the time by those who heard

it, as the most touching and impressive sermon that he had ever delivered,—as pervaded by a spirit of tenderness altogether beyond what was usual in his public services. He was evidently laboring under great physical debility; but the extent and character of his disease were not even suspected by his friends.

Soon after, as soon as the state of his health and his wishes were known by his people, they gave him leave of absence for a few months and supplied him with the means of defraying his expenses during a journey to the South. He left home, accompanied by his son, on the nineteenth of January, and seemed at once greatly relieved. He enjoyed the journey, spent a few days in Washington, took a lively interest in seeing whatever was to be seen, and arrived at Charleston, S. C., apparently much better than when he sat out from home. He received from Dr. Huger and his family every attention which might contribute to his happiness or comfort, and thought himself more entirely free from sickness than he had been for several years. He rode out on the afternoon of Tuesday, February 24; but on his return in the evening was taken violently ill, and lingered, for the most part in a state of insensibility, till Thursday morning, when he was quietly released from a body, which through life had been the source of more and severer trials than fall often to the lot of man.

The news of Dr. Brazer's death came upon his friends with a suddenness almost startling. The latest accounts received from him had been of the most encouraging character, when the same mail which announced his sudden and severe illness brought also the tidings of his death, and the tolling of the bell was the first intimation which most of his parishioners had, that he was not still improving in his health. The Sunday after the sad intelligence was received, his church was closed, and on the following Sabbath a very impressive funeral discourse was delivered by Rev. Dr. Flint from the words, "Though dead, he yet speaketh." And so another from among those who have held a high place as a minister of our faith shall speak to us in time to come only by the words which he has already uttered, by the life which he has lived, and the many solemn thoughts and emotions suggested by his death.

J. H. M.

ART. X. — OLIVER CROMWELL — PURITANISM.*

It is a noteworthy fact, that so many gifted and leading minds in our time have been moved to do some justice to the Puritans. Mr. Macauley, in a brilliant essay of his youth, of which, we are sorry to add, he has lived to be somewhat impatient in more mature years, taught the reading world here, if not on the other side of the water, to be ashamed that they were ashamed of the Puritans. James Grahame, an honest, diligent, accurate Scotsman, fell passionately in love with the history of this country, chiefly on account of the religious principles of its early settlers. He devoted his pure and useful life, with a quiet enthusiasm, to the work he had taken in hand. Guizot, who stands at the right hand of the ablest monarch in Europe or the world, finds time amidst the cares of his high position, to study the event to which the Protestant Puritans in England gave the impulse, and which he with reason calls "stupendous." And now Mr. Carlyle brings his vigorous and peculiar intellect to grasp the same great theme. We have before us two works, relating to the same period of English history, the heroic age of England, according to Carlyle, and certainly to us Cis-Atlantic readers by far the most interesting and important period from Saxon Alfred to Victoria.

The work of the distinguished Frenchman, the title of which we have given, treats of the First of the Three Parts into which he divides the History of the English Revolution of 1640. It occupies the space that lies between the accession of Charles I. in 1625 and his death in 1649, when the elements of strife in the nation were arranging themselves round their respective centres; when the minds of men were growing more and more ardent; when the storm was brewing, which at length burst forth, and resulted in the ruin of the throne and of him who sat upon

* 1. *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with Elucidations.* By THOMAS CARLYLE. In two volumes. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 8vo. pp. 560, and 437.

2. *History of the English Revolution of 1640, commonly called the Great Rebellion: from the accession of Charles I. to his death.* By F. GUIZOT, the Prime Minister of France. Translated by William Hazlitt. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 8vo. pp. 515.

it by a *divine right*. The Second Period starts from the death of Charles (the martyr—as the toad-eating Histories of England, written by Churchmen, placemen, or infidel Tories call him) and includes the acts of the Long Parliament and the career of Cromwell. During this period the nation was making desperate efforts to get itself “settled,” in which efforts the sword of the Lord and of Oliver finally prevailed, and the Commonwealth was erected and kept in poise so long as the mailed saint continued to live. “The Third Period” to use Guizot’s own words, “is that of monarchical reaction, successful for a while under Charles II., who in his cautious selfishness aimed at nothing beyond his own personal enjoyment, but ruined by the blind passion of James II., who aimed at absolute power. In 1688 England achieved the point she aimed at in 1640, and quitted the career of revolution for that of liberty.”

Only the First Part of this comprehensive plan, sketched by the Prime Minister of France, has been as yet completed, and given to the world in the work we are noticing. “I have collected,” he remarks, “for the history of the two other periods, a body of materials which, as I believe, are neither without importance or variety. A day will doubtless come, when I shall be able to make use of these materials: meantime, wanting the leisure to complete my narrative of this stupendous event, I apply my mind, at every available moment, to its just comprehension.” It was the opinion of Napoleon, that history should be written, not by cloistered scholars, mere word-mongers, but by practical men, by statesmen, by generals, by men familiar with the actual working of the social machinery. And this accords very much with Lord Bacon’s sentiment, when he says, that “generally it were to be wished as that which would make learning indeed solid and fruitful, that active men would or could” (Napoleon left out the *could*) “become writers.” The Prime Minister of France possesses this qualification; he is a statesman and a scholar. And the analogies of the French Revolution help to give his mind a lively interest in the “Grand Rebellion,” as it has been too long insolently labelled in the pattern Histories of England.

We infer from certain hints and suggestions in the work of Mr. Carlyle before us, that he too has entertained the design of writing a History of the same period. “One

wishes," he says, "there were a History of English Puritanism, the last of all our Heroisms; but sees small prospect of such a thing at present." In the meantime, and as an earnest of something more to come, we welcome this collection of Cromwell's writings, with the elucidations of Thomas Carlyle. The work commences with an Introduction, quite characteristic, divided into five chapters, in which we have remarks upon the general subject of Puritanism, and upon the manner in which the history of the seventeenth century has been usually treated; notices of the several biographies that have been written of Oliver Cromwell; an account of the Cromwell kindred; a series of events arranged chronologically from the birth of Oliver up to the date of his first letter; and lastly, remarks upon the letters and speeches. Then follow the Letters and Speeches themselves, divided into ten parts, corresponding to as many periods in the life of their author. The writings of Cromwell, tied up in these chronological bundles, are prefaced and accompanied by Elucidations, in the peculiar fashion of the editor, in which are blended acuteness, wisdom, pathos, eloquence, drollery and sarcasm.

It is a favorite notion with Mr. Carlyle, that the seventeenth century is inaccessible to the men of the present day, by reason of the lack of faith now, and the consequent inability to conceive of the convictions that governed men then.

"The Christian doctrines, which then dwelt alive in every heart, have now in a manner died out of all hearts—very mournful to behold; and are not the guidance of this world any more. Nay, worse still, the cant of them does yet dwell alive with us, little doubting that it is cant;—in which fatal intermediate state the eternal sacredness of this universe itself, of this human life itself, has fallen dark to the most of us, and we think that too a cant and a creed. Thus the old names suggest new things to us,—not august and divine, but hypocritical, pitiable, detestable. The old names and similitudes of belief still circulate from tongue to tongue, though now in such a ghastly condition, not as commandments of the living God, which we must do or perish eternally, alas, no, as something very different from that! Here properly lies the grand unintelligibility of the seventeenth century for us." — Vol. I. p. 6.

It would be difficult, well-nigh impossible, to instance the individual, about whom more lies have been told, and

towards whom more injustice has been done, than in the case of Oliver Cromwell. There is a numerous class of erroneous historical judgments, which take possession of men's minds, and when they get possession, are handed down from one generation to another. Like the books which Charles Lamb says are expected to belong to every gentleman's library, (Hume's *England*, if we mistake not, was one of the books mentioned by him,) so they are expected, as a matter of course, to form part of the furniture or fixtures of every gentleman's noddle. Many of these erroneous opinions are quite unsubstantial, and are easily scattered, a host of them at once, whenever a true thinker appears and speaks. These resemble very much the little cherubs, only the upper parts of which existed, or whose posterior continuations were cloud-hidden, that kept flitting about St. Cecilia in one of her musical ecstasies. "Sit down—sit down," cried the saint. "Thank you, Madam, we have not the wherewithal to accept your invitation."

There are other less airy, more stubbornly rooted prejudices, founded in malice and stupidity. We are pleased with the manner in which Mr. Carlyle deals with such of these malignant and stupid calumnies as he thinks deserving of his notice. In one of the earliest of Cromwell's letters that have been preserved, he uses such expressions as were then, and still are, common with a certain class of religious persons, to describe his great sinfulness before his conversion, and the wonderful change wrought in him by religious convictions. "You know," he says, writing to his cousin, "what my manner of life hath been. Oh, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated light. I was a chief, the chief of sinners etc." Noble, one of Oliver's biographers, remarks, that he finds in these expressions "clear evidence that Oliver was once a very dissolute man." Carlyle thus deals with his "reverend imbecile friend, Noble:"—

"Brother, hadst thou never, in any form, such moments in thy history? Thou knowest them not, even by credible rumor? Well, thy earthly path was peaceabler, I suppose; but the highest was never in thee; the highest will never come out of thee. Thou shalt at best abide by the stuff; as cherished house-dog, guard the stuff,—perhaps with enormous gold collars and provender; but the battle, and the hero death, and victory's fire-chariot carrying men to the Immortals, shall never be thine. I

pity thee; brag not, or I shall have to despise thee." — Vol. I. pp. 98 — 100.

Numerous other instances might be adduced, were there space, of the manner in which the memory of Cromwell has been abused. Ever since Charles II. ordered the bodies of a multitude of dead Puritans, Oliver's mother among the rest, to be dug up and thrown in a heap in St. Margaret's church yard, and the dead body of the Protector to swing upon a gallows at Tyburn, those who have written the biography of the arch-regicide have taken their cue from the court, and the villifiers of Oliver have had the field pretty much to themselves for two centuries. But truth must be heard at last. There is among *us*, certainly, no court-interest to serve by lying sycophants; and we may venture to expect that Oliver Cromwell will yet shine out the diamond that he is, when the filth that is thick upon his name and character shall be known by men not to be inherent, but to have been left there by the dirty tread of the harpies that have trampled on him.

It is the remark of Hume, speaking of Cromwell's conference with a Committee of the Parliament, on the subject of his assuming the office and title of King, that "he was incapable of expressing himself on this occasion, but in a manner which a peasant of the most ordinary capacity would justly be ashamed of." And in a note the historian adds, "The great defect in Oliver's speeches consists not in his want of elocution, but in his want of ideas. — The collection of all his speeches, letters, sermons, (for he also wrote sermons) would make a great curiosity, and, with a few exceptions, might justly pass for one of the most nonsensical books in the world."

Indeed, Mr. Hume! Well, here they are, Letters and Speeches, (no sermons, — but we can imagine what they would be from the specimens before us,) and the world can judge at length whether Mr. Hume is correct. "The great defect in Oliver's speeches, not want of elocution, but want of ideas!" But how does this square with the charge of hypocrisy? The opinion which commonly prevails in the world, and which Historian Hume is quite ready to adopt, is that Cromwell was enough of a knave and dissembler to use words to conceal his ideas; — that he had ideas enough, but they were so bad that he was forced to veil

them under a confused jargon. We may venture to assert that there were some ideas in Oliver's mind, expressed too in good solid Saxon phraseology in his letters and speeches, which are none the less important because they were not "dreamt of in your philosophy," Mr. Hume; ideas, that have too much faded out of the minds of most men, that might without injury to the world be revived in men's minds. "I called these Letters good," says Carlyle in his Introduction, "but withal only good of their kind. No eloquence, elegance, not always even clearness of expression, is to be looked for in them. They are written with far other than literary aims; written, most of them, in the very flame and conflagration of a revolutionary struggle, and with an eye to the despatch of indispensable business alone; but it will be found, I conceive, that for such end they are well written." To turn from the witty, brilliant, heartless, trifling letters of such a man as Horace Walpole, for example, to the involved, clumsily jointed sentences, and obsolete diction of Oliver the Puritan, — who has, as any one may see, always a good strong meaning in him, worthy of being worked into shape, although he understands very little of the art of shaping human meanings (commonly known as a *fine art*), — is to us a refreshment of spirit.

Oliver Cromwell united the two chief elements of power among men, — physical valor and deep religious conviction, — the power of the sword and the moral power of faith. And here in this connexion we would venture to express the opinion, that the attempt to explain the Lord Protector's character on the supposition of *hypocrisy*, which is so generally resorted to, fails entirely. It is not sufficient to explain philosophically the unquestioned facts of his case. It is no easier a matter, surely, to make a baseless pretension to faith and piety answer as a sufficient substitute for sincere, real conviction, than it would be to make a windy braggardism an equivalent for true courage and heroism. Had Cromwell been the hypocrite he is accused of being, he never could have achieved what he did achieve. Hypocrisy and hollowness are not springs of moral energy. Nothing can come of nothing. A character like his could have grown only out of some deep, genuine principle, or passion, or conviction of his own. Whether true or false, right or wrong, there must have been at bottom something

sincere, real, his own. He was great not merely by wielding the passions of others, but because he shared the passions of his time; the ideas of the age were his own ideas. His own soul was possessed and vivified and inflamed by the convictions of his contemporaries. He was a Puritan himself, and not merely a leader and adroit manager of Puritans. He believed in what he undertook to advocate. This is our theory of his character. And we think this view cannot but be adopted by many, if they will take the trouble to read Oliver's own utterances, as edited, arranged and elucidated by Thomas Carlyle.

Cromwell's occasional levity and buffoonery even on the most serious occasions, instances of which are so frequently produced in proof of his hypocrisy, do not, in our view, necessarily involve the conclusion, that he was insincere when he assumed the manner and made use of the dialect of the religious of that day. These phases of his character, to our apprehension, only indicate the reaction of a mind naturally sensitive, serious, conscientious, even morbidly gloomy and profound in its questionings. Cromwell is known to have been a hypochondriac. He had seasons of appalling depression, when the cloud covered his mind and shut out all cheerful visions. The law which governs such minds, varying their moods and frames from one extreme to another, is familiar. Oliver's exuberant spirits on certain grave occasions are proof to us of the deep concern and profound agitation which had shaken his mind previously. We are not made acquainted with the fears and doubts which his soul had wrestled with in secret. All *that* remains undisclosed to mortals, — the part of his biography which will never be written. We see only the banter and jest, the grotesque acts and fantastic tricks with which he sought, not unlikely, to shake off the gloom, and to tear himself from the demon that held his mind in darkness.

The royal moralist in Scripture declares, that there is "a time to weep and a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a time to dance;" — and we may say, in accordance with this doctrine, that in a healthy mind the various and opposite moods of grave and gay, cheerful and serious, lively and solemn, alternate and succeed each other, in the order which the God who made our frame designed. And whenever this natural order and succession of moods is broken

up and interrupted from any cause, nature dictates to the mind to struggle to regain the balance. If there has been too profound and too continued melancholy, the individual struggles to throw off the oppression, and in so doing is very likely to exceed the bounds of a decorous cheerfulness, and to give way to an extravagant, perhaps an unseemly mirth and gaiety ; and if, in the efforts which he makes to throw off his fixed uniformity of feeling, the individual fail of success, and the mind, in spite of all struggles, will remain fixed in one unvarying mood, whether that mood be lively or melancholy, there is derangement, insanity, a morbid condition of mind.

It is well known to those conversant with literary history, that some of the most humorous, laughter-moving compositions that any language contains, have been produced when their authors were writhing under the most intense mental anguish, or enveloped in the folds of the most appalling melancholy. Dean Swift, indulging in gay banter, and crying 'vive la bagatelle', while at the same time he was gnashing his teeth inwardly with morose rage, and Cowper, penning the humorous ballad of John Gilpin, while he was oppressed with the cloud of religious madness that had settled down hopelessly upon his mind, are familiar instances that will readily occur to the reader in illustration of the remark just made. The great dramatic poet of our language also, who reflects from his varied pages all the phases of human life, and all the diversified aspects of human nature, both in its sane and in its distempered conditions, exhibits the same mysterious fact and mental law, in the character of his Hamlet. The Prince is made acquainted, through preternatural means, as the poet imagines, with the crime by which his lamented father had been foully murdered by him who now occupies his throne and bed. This dreadful secret the poet supposes to have been communicated to a young, ardent, susceptible, cultivated, reflecting mind, and the solemn injunction to be laid upon an educated conscience, to avenge the deed. Hamlet bears about with him the oppressive secret. It haunts him by day and by night. He is not permitted to communicate the secret to another, and thus to gain composure to his troubled spirit. He has no peers with whom he can share his domestic troubles. Had Hamlet been a mere creature

of impulse and passion, the knowledge of the crime would have been immediately and precipitately followed by revenge. This would have been a very simple state of mind, easily depicted by a common artist. But the character which Shakspeare undertook to draw, was far more complicated. He was not a being of mere impulse and passion. He had a reflecting, philosophical cast of mind. And the crime, of which he had been informed, instead of merely inflaming him with hatred towards the guilty author of the crime, and driving him with headlong haste and fury upon the object of his hatred, detained him, — not through cowardice, but in accordance with some of the prominent elements of his peculiar mind, — detained him — held him back awhile from the performance of the act to which he was constantly prompted, and engaged his musing, contemplative spirit upon the deepest mysteries of man's being, nature, and condition. His mind's attention was fixed upon whatever is most perplexing in human life without, and in that little world in man's breast, where the patterns of all crimes and of all virtues are first designed and sketched, before they are actualized in life. This concentrated attention, this intense action of a mind conversing too much with itself, now plunging into the deepest abysses of thought, and now soaring, on the wings of imagination, to heights where the air would be too thin and subtile to sustain life, this continued melancholy needed — demanded some relief. The ordinary succession of cheerful and grave images and moods, which constitutes the condition of a sound mind, was in his case broken up; and in his struggles to recover this natural state, he is represented by the poet, with the greatest truth, and with marvellous art, as bearing himself strangely and oddly; he "puts an antic disposition on;" he indulges in fantastic humors; his black melancholy is fringed with playful fancies; he laughs and jests even while his heart is ready to crack and burst with suppressed, uncommunicated grief. All this is most true to nature. It was an assumed madness, say the critics. But he could not avoid assuming it; it was just what nature prompted, — drove him to — for relief. One string had been so long played upon, that another must be struck. It was with him as with Solomon, "he gave his heart to know wisdom, and to know madness and folly" too.

But Cromwell was an ambitious usurper, "guilty of his country's blood," — is another charge! And yet he was not blood-thirsty. He fought not as if it were his trade. He girded himself for the fight, not under the impulse of youthful passion, nor to make his fortune in the world. He was in middle life when the great conflict of arms began in England. He was the father, and the affectionate father, of a large family of children. He had long since worked off the fervors of youth and early manhood. He had pursued for years the quiet labors of husbandry on the banks of the Ouse. He put on the harness at the mature age of three and forty, influenced by a strong conviction of duty, believing that he was fighting the battles of the living God. He effected an entire change in the character of the army. It was said of Cromwell's soldiers, "Not a man swears but he pays his twelve-pence; no plundering, no drinking, disorder or impiety allowed." He says in one of his letters to the Parliament from Ireland, during his campaign in that distracted island, "We serve you; we are willing to be out of our trade of war, and shall hasten, by God's assistance and grace, to the end of our work, as the laborer doth to be at his rest." The notion of John Milton was, "that the Protectorate of his Highness Oliver was a thing called for by the necessities and the everlasting laws." And even Hume allows that, if he had "been guilty of no crime but this temporary usurpation, the plea of necessity and public good, which he alleged, might be allowed, in every view, a reasonable excuse for his conduct."

"I have lived," said Cromwell, in one of his speeches, "the latter part of my age in — if I may say so — the fire; in the midst of troubles." "I can say, in the presence of God, in comparison with whom we are but like poor creeping ants upon the earth, I would have been glad to have lived under my wood-side, to have kept a flock of sheep, rather than undertaken such a government as this." It requires no uncommon measure of faith to credit this. It was no easy seat that he sat upon. To act the part of constable, and preserve the peace in three such nations as England, Scotland and Ireland then were; to subdue and to keep down so many factions as then existed; to guard against so many personal enemies at home and abroad; to satisfy the public mind teeming with so many wild theories

of religion and government ; — to do all this was not easy. It *would* have been better, so far as his own happiness was concerned, “to have kept a flock of sheep.”

And if it is once granted that he was justified by necessity in assuming supreme power, it will not be questioned by any that his government was vigorous, successful, glorious. England was never better governed, it will probably be conceded by all, than in the days of Cromwell. He made the name of his country to be respected and dreaded in every part of the globe. The helm was in the hand of a sharp-sighted pilot, who knew how to steer the ship of state through as boisterous a storm as England has ever been tossed by. He adopted and acted on the principle of toleration in religion, at a time when toleration was generally viewed as nothing better than a criminal indifference to God's truth. He made it the noble aim of his foreign policy, to unite all the Protestant nations of Europe, under the lead of the Commonwealth, against Popery. In the midst of his own perplexing affairs, he had an open ear and a sympathizing heart for the sufferings of the persecuted Protestants abroad, and he interposed effectually in their behalf. He was served by such men as Blake upon the ocean, and Matthew Hale upon the bench, and John Milton in the office of Secretary. Such are among the features of the Protector's government, justifying the splendid praise of the author of *Paradise Lost* in his well known sonnet.

It pleased the Lord, in his Providence, to take him away before he had realized all his great ideas in Church and State ; and Charles Stuart, the Second, with his pimps and mistresses, “Nell-Gwynn Defender of the faith,” the father — (of his people ? not he) — of the English nobility, came in, and the compact strength and Christian decency of the Commonwealth disappeared. Who now will venture to praise the man that was recently so flattered ? See the cringing, time-serving crowds sloping off and turning round, as soon as that eye, which would have awed them to the dust, is closed, and saluting the royal Charles, who returns, with all his father's high notions of authority and with none of his father's personal virtues, to bring back the double curse of a licentious court and a petticoat prelacy. See poets of transcendant genius, Dryden and Waller, (Milton, thank God ! was not with them,) crooking the

hinges of their supple knees to the rising sun ; eating their own words ; and applauding him who, with a generosity worthy of the Stuarts, could dig up the relics of the dead lion, that he might have the satisfaction of kicking, with his ass's hoof, the leader, before whose face had fled in dismay the broken squadrons of the royal host at Worcester.

But the murder of the King — how, it is asked, shall that stain be wiped off from Oliver Cromwell's name ?

He sat, as is well known of all men, in the High Court of Justice before which King Charles I. was brought to trial ; he consented to the sentence passed upon that unfortunate monarch ; and his name appears among others affixed to the death-warrant.

"In the drama of modern history," Mr. Carlyle remarks, "one knows not any graver, more note-worthy scene ; — earnest as very Death and Judgment." * * * "They have decided to have justice, these men ; to see God's justice done, and his judgments executed on this earth." * * * "We know it not, this atrocity of the English Regicides, shall never know it. I reckon it perhaps the most daring action any body of men, to be met with in history, ever, with clear consciousness, deliberately set themselves to do. Dread phantoms, glaring supernal on you — when once they are quelled and their light snuffed out — none knows the terror of the phantom." * * * "The like of which action will not be needed for a thousand years again. Needed, alas, — not till a new genuine hero-worship has arisen, has perfected itself, and had time to degenerate into a Flunkeyism and cloth-worship again ! Which I take to be a very long date indeed ! " — Vol. I. pp. 325 — 330.

Affairs had got into such a position, that the nation could be settled, and the peace and prosperity of England be secured, only by the entire overthrow of one or other of the opposite parties. The king represented one of those parties in his own person ; so much so, that if he were removed, his party and cause were destroyed. There was, of course, no one person on the popular side, who in any such sense represented his party, and therefore to make sure of the destruction of this side, a great many must be sacrificed. So that on the score of common humanity and simple equity, which is the only rule for Christian Republicans to adopt in forming their judgment upon this act, it was far preferable that one man should die for the peace of a nation, than that the civil strife should be indefinitely

prolonged. Whether Oliver Cromwell and his associate regicides really governed themselves, in the act to which they consented, by such a pure and simple motive, without any mixture of malice, revenge, ambition, envy, rapacity and self-seeking, and how far, if at all, each or any of them was thus influenced, are questions above human fallibility to decide. To their own Master they must stand or fall. But the act is sufficiently justified historically by the simple course of reasoning which we have indicated.

The very same principles that brought our ancestors hither, and upon which all that we value is based, brought Charles Stuart to the block, and made him in the midst of his days a headless trunk. Charles was in many respects a good man. He had commendable qualities. He was, we cannot doubt, perfectly sincere in believing that the world was made, by the Lord of the universe, to be governed by Kings. He bore himself firmly, with calm dignity, to the end. He died as a Christian should die. There was nothing on his conscience to trouble him except the blood of Strafford. Strafford was the only one of his friends whom he had had the timidity to forsake. The account of the closing scenes of this monarch's life, as given by Hume, deeply interests the reader, and awakens respect and compassion towards the royal sufferer. But the ideas which he had inherited from his royal ancestors, and which he held so tenaciously, came into collision with the new ideas of the age. The two forces could not, or would not turn aside to pass each other. Neither would or could turn round, that they might pursue together the same track. There could be progress only in one way. One of the parties or the other must pass over the dead body of its antagonist. "The king of England, with his chief priests, was going one way; the Nation of England, by eternal laws, was going another; the split became too wide for healing." And it was for some time doubtful, whether the king or his enemies would finally prevail. Till his head was in the hands of the executioner, and his blood on the handkerchiefs of the people, it was uncertain,—and the Independents knew this quite well,—which party should finally be uppermost in the conflict. "History, which has wept for a misguided Charles Stuart, and blubbered, in the most copious, helpless manner, near two

centuries now, whole floods of brine, enough to salt the Herring fishery," and in the intervals of blubbing has uttered through the nose a maledictory interjection against the fanatical Independents, the miscreant Regicides, has no whine to suspire over the multitude of poor obscure victims that Laud and such as he, cut-throats by the grace of God, sent to the shades, or that larger multitude of trembling heretics upon whom dominant and persecuting Presbyterianism was ready to fasten its fangs.

But the defence of Cromwell's character from the charges which stupidity and malignity have brought against him, although important, is not, after all, of chief importance. Neither his, nor any man's character will bear indiscriminate eulogy, or deserves indiscriminate censure. He was only one item in a vast social account, one individual in a great social movement, more prominent certainly than others,—a Leader, as mortals call one another. But in the great Epic of Providence, *leaders* should be printed with a small initial. Under the great monarchy of the Lord, leaders are only poor subalterns, pigmy agents, raised up to utter the word, "thus saith the Lord," and dashed in pieces, whenever in their pitiful pride they stand against the divine world-movement.

It is not Oliver Cromwell alone, that suffers injustice at the hands of the English Toryarchy. No. It is the whole movement in the latter part of the sixteenth and through the first half of the seventeenth centuries, that is lashed across the Protector's shoulders. It is we, the rightful heirs of Puritanism, who are insulted and defamed in the person of him who was the strongest man in that battle of humanity. What we would insist on strenuously is, that we of New England, who are shoots from that old Puritan stock, should be especially careful not to allow our minds to be controlled on this subject by writers, all whose interests and biasses incline them to take an opposite view from ours of that old drama and its persons. We are the fruit of the same seed that produced the Commonwealth in England. In the land of our fathers the great cause of civil and religious liberty was overborne, trampled down and speedily ruined, and the royal game-cocks crowed lustily over the *annus mirabilis*, the glorious Restoration, forsooth. But in America the cause was safe by reason of the

obscurity of the wilderness. Here it grew and flourished noiselessly; and the Commonwealth of England finds its counterpart, and the ideas of the English Puritans are realized, in the associated commonwealths that cluster here, from one ocean to another, round the same republican empire.

We welcome this book of Carlyle's, because we think that the public mind in this country is occupied with entirely false ideas and judgments in regard to the period of English history to which Oliver Cromwell belongs. And we believe this collection of the Protector's own writings will do somewhat to dislodge such errors, and to break up and remove the prejudices with which the young and the old are equally content. A recent writer in one of our journals makes the remark, that the prejudices of New England are in favor of, and not against Cromwell. We doubt the accuracy of this remark. There seems to us rather (and strange that it should be so!) a general disposition among us to rest satisfied with the estimate of Cromwell's character, which has so long passed current in the world. Our people have fallen into the common track of opinion. Their notions respecting the occurrences and personages of the seventeenth century are exclusively drawn from, or at least essentially modified by Clarendon and Hume, the eloquent apologists of tyranny, the bitter enemies of Puritanism and of Republicanism, and therefore wholly unfit to be the expositors to the American mind of such events and scenes as Cromwell figured in. Our American mind has been poisoned by the Tory historians of England. Oliver Cromwell was, of course, a hollow-hearted hypocrite. This is the formula, and this is thought sufficient to sum up and settle his character *per secula seculorum*. He was a sort of Satan the Second; and the question is likely to be scornfully asked, — "What will Carlyle do next for a hero? Mirabeau in the French Revolution was his idol, and English Oliver now?" To show how entirely saturated the American mind is with English prejudices on this subject, in which we have so close an interest, take up the American Encyclopedia, a work, of course, which may be expected to consult somewhat the popular taste in its mode of treating the several subjects it contains; turn to the article on Oliver Cromwell; read it through, and you

find it filled, from beginning to end, with the old, stale, stereotyped, aristocratic, anti-American ideas. Hypocrisy — that is the only attribute ascribed to the Protector, with the exception of sufficient intellectual ability and native talent to make the favorite vice more prominent and hideous. That such errors and prejudices should exist in England, is not to be wondered at. It is for the interest of the existing state of things there, to throw into shade the period of the Puritan ascendancy, and to blacken the memory of the man who represents in history that struggle against oppression in Church and State. Dull book this of Carlyle's, say the English critics. They do not wish it to be regarded as other than dull. They do not want the ghost of the Protector to rise before their vision in the guise of a mailed saint, ready to vindicate the rights of humanity. We can understand an English reviewer, when he says that Cromwell's life was "a sham, a giant lie, an incessant simulation;" that "the King was murdered, martyred; the Church hath it so, and the Church influence will outlast myriads of Cromwells, Canters, and Carlyles;" that "he" (Cromwell) "rests bathed in blood, the blood of his King, his Country, and his Church." We can understand all this, when it oozes from the pen of an English Tory or Churchman. But how the same extravagances should have come to pass current for sound, genuine opinions in this free America; among the descendants of the very men who were contemporaries with Oliver, with whom he had even gone so far at one time as to cast in his lot; among the children of those men, whose views were precisely the same as the Commonwealth's men had at home, whose ideas and passions were the same, whose impulses and motives were drawn from a common source, and who did here, in the wilderness, the very same work in the noiseless and undisturbed way of growth, which the patriot saints of England were obliged to effect at home by violence, — a violence so sudden and excessive, that the reaction effaced in a few years all that had been accomplished; — this we cannot understand.

We know very well what to make of it, when a stiff English conservative remarks, that "the abuses even of constituted authority are preferable to their remedy by Revolution;" alias, the mortification which has seized a

limb, and which is creeping up, up, towards the vitals, ought to be suffered to go on, rather than resort to the knife to cut off the limb, and thus save the body. But it would be strange indeed, if anything approaching to such a perverse doctrine should find admittance into our public sentiment. We, or rather our fathers for us, braved the dangers and toils and sacrifices of one bloody revolution, which was in fact only a continuation of the Revolution of 1640 in England, the fruit of the same seed that was sown in the Anglo-Saxon mind at the Reformation. The winds blew a part of that seed across the Atlantic, and here it lodged, and remained protected, until the soil was made favorable, and circumstances under Providence became propitious to its springing, and growth, and maturity. But although our Revolution in 1775, on which all our consequence as a nation rests, proves the sentiment which we have quoted to be false and absurd, yet we are no advocates of revolutionary remedies. We hold them to be the ultimate resort. But we hold also, that the only way to avoid the necessity for this resort is, to keep the work of reform continually active, to root out the weeds as fast as they grow. We are living under institutions which allow this necessary work of reform to be done, which demand that it be done. There is among us in fact, certainly there ought to be, according to the theory of our social system, a continual revolution going on, a peaceful reform of abuses as soon as they are discovered to be abuses, a gradual renovation from year to year. A tight, strait-jacket conservatism must inevitably lead to an outbreak, to a violent and bloody outbreak. This was the case in France. The abuses, corruptions, abominations, in government, religion, morals and society, which existed in France previously to the first Revolution in that country, and which had been allowed to accumulate generation after generation, in accordance with the English maxim given above, at last came to a head. The bad humors in the system must come out. It was time there should be an outbreak; and it could not but be sanguinary and anarchical. And the enemies of all change, here and elsewhere, would do well to apply the wisdom, which such historical events contain, to the condition and prospects of their respective countries. The price we have to pay for our

political and religious privileges is unceasing watchfulness and perpetual revolution. The state of feeling which is thus engendered among us is, doubtless, very inconvenient and uncomfortable. There is a constant itching and scratching, and twisting and turning over. We cannot sleep. The reformers will not let us rest. And so we do anything but bless the reformers. Very uncomfortable this is, no doubt. But probably it is necessary. It may be the chief condition upon which Providence allows us to retain what we most value. Once let this irritation on the surface of society cease, and it will be an awful omen of death. The timid conservative may say, 'Well, an outbreak will inevitably come. But it may be staved off yet awhile. It will not come, at least, in my day. The present system of things will last as long as I shall last.' This may be the truth. It is quite likely to be true. But it is not very courageous, to put off the conflict, which, it is allowed, must come, until we are quietly wrapt in dust, away from the ills that posterity must then inherit. To all who study Providence, as unfolded and recorded in history, it cannot but be apparent, that we must either, in our day and generation, do our duty faithfully, and reform abuses gradually, as we discover them, or we must let them grow and multiply, a hundred heads for one, and mercifully leave it to our successors on the stage of life to do battle, (and a bloody battle it must then ultimately be!) with the monster which a slight effort might have strangled in its birth.

In Mr. Carlyle's work, we have evidence, not only of the peculiar traits of his genius, with which the reading public has long been familiar, but of exactness, sagacity of judgment, and patience in ascertaining matters of fact,—qualities these, comparatively humble, but quite necessary in their place. There are some reasons which would lead us to expect that the chief interest in such a publication would be on this side of the great water. We venture to say, that any truth-coveting reader among us, who may have derived what notions he has respecting the Puritans and Oliver Cromwell from the advocates of Monarchy and Prelatism,—who think that a scratch on the flesh of a King is an occurrence to make the world shudder, while they attach little importance, if any, to the ghastly wounds inflicted by tyranny upon the limbs of humanity, and who

judge that the Gospel loses its efficacy unless it make its toilet before the High-Church looking-glass, — will find in this book some things to set him on thinking; likely enough, indeed, to upset his old theories and judgments. At least such a reader may convince himself, that there is another way to look at the great subject than through infidel Hume's or cavalier Clarendon's eyes.

We of New England are of Puritan origin. We are one result of the Puritan movement in the seventeenth century. We come of the men who were co-temporaries, co-workers, co-sufferers with those who did the work of the Commonwealth in England. We know well what Puritanism has effected here. Its monuments are everywhere about us. All of intrinsically good that we possess, all that wise men and righteous men value, and would hold on by, and keep, if possible, from dying, is traceable directly to the Puritan colonists of this western continent. And few, if any, among us will find it difficult to assent cordially, when Mr. Carlyle says, that this Puritanism was a *Heroism*; — “perhaps no nobler Heroism ever transacted itself on this earth.” We shall not hesitate to call that a heroism, which inspired the Christian Pilgrims, who disembarked on our glazed coast in the winter of 1620, and began their “wilderness work” “in these ends of the earth.”

And we would say, in closing our remarks, that it is especially deserving of attention, it is, in fact, the great lesson which our subject teaches, that all the freedom which is enjoyed in England or in this country has had its origin with the Puritans. Let Hume be our authority for the first part of this assertion; of the remainder we will ourselves assume the responsibility. Indeed we are convinced it will be found to be universally true, that all the progress which society has made in civil and political matters, may be traced directly to religion. The abstract principles upon which human rights are founded have been recognized, and put into an intelligible form, and made familiar to the minds of men, and matured for use, through the agency of the Christian Church.

Our ancestors were the authors of Congregationalism, the foundation-principle of which is, that each congregation of worshipping Christians is a church-body, entire and complete by itself, fully competent to manage its own

affairs, accountable to no other ecclesiastical body, and bound only to obey the great Head of the universal Church. And this was a singularly bold step for men to take, who had been bred amidst the high-toned claims of the English Church, — to say, that Bishops and Archbishops and other Church dignitaries were nothing, and that the brethren who joined voluntarily in the same covenant, and who associated themselves together to do the Lord's work in any place, were everything. They adopted a principle, the true nature, character and results of which could not for many generations be understood; a principle, which would not fail ultimately to be a source of civil as well as of religious freedom. This principle, it is not too much to say, has been the origin of all the freedom we enjoy. To the independent religious societies which our Puritan forefathers established must the historian look, if he would discover the nurseries of North American freedom. There the cradle was rocked. There the early bias was given. There the habits of the people were formed, their habits of thinking, feeling and acting. The practice of a century and a half had accustomed men to bow to no earthly authority in the Church, except what they consented to themselves, — the authority which resided in small bodies, of which each individual member might feel himself to be an important part. And when the Revolution of 1775 broke out, the people in this portion of the Colonies had only to apply to civil affairs the same principle, which had long been familiar to them in the Church.

W. P. L.

ART. XI. — THE UNITARIAN DENOMINATION.*

DR. PUTNAM'S discourse at the Installation of Mr. Fosdick has given rise to more conversation than any sermon preached in this city for many years, with the exception of Mr. Parker's at the South Boston ordination; not so much, however, we apprehend, from the novelty or strength of his

* *A Discourse delivered at the Installation of Rev. David Fosdick, as Pastor of the Hollis Street Church, Boston, March 3, 1846.* By GEORGE PUTNAM. Together with the Charge, Right Hand of Fellowship, and Address to the People. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1846. 8vo. pp. 72.

positions, (or his main position, we should rather say,) as from the surprise which was felt at the exhibition of such views from the author of the discourse on such an occasion. Mr. Putnam has fully justified himself, we think, for bringing the subject before the public in this particular manner, since his object was, if possible, to draw general attention to remarks which he thought it important should be made. The event has shown that in this respect he chose his time and place with his usual sagacity. He has, also, amply vindicated himself from any imputation of unfairness in not printing the sermon precisely as it was delivered, by the statement which he makes in the preface of the changes he has introduced. The discourse therefore stands now upon its own merits, to be judged without any bias from the associations which it acquired in the delivery.

Of its merits, when thus independently examined, we cannot speak as we should be glad, and as we are accustomed, to speak of whatever comes from the writer. We not only dissent from him in his general purpose and in many of his illustrations, but we are compelled to say that the discourse seems to us to fall much below his usual pulpit performances. The impression which we received when we heard it, has been confirmed by repeated perusals. It lacks the glow which we have before found in his productions, and as an argumentative discussion, is open to severe criticism. The preface shows us that Mr. Putnam is interested in the views which he has presented, from a deep conviction of their truth, but if we had only the sermon before us, and knew nothing of its author, we should be tempted to think he had published his crude opinions without even reviewing his manuscript to mark the incongruities of his own reasoning. Our limits prevent us from entering on a thorough examination of the discourse, or the subject which it has brought into such prominence before our community, but we cannot think that many pages are needed to expose the unsoundness of the train of thought which here invites our judgment.

The position on which Mr. Putnam plants himself, and which he labors through the whole discourse to defend, is, that Unitarians should discard and disown any denominational existence. He thinks that both the principles they profess and the policy they ought to pursue should dissuade

them from multiplying denominational bonds, and should induce them to relinquish whatever ecclesiastical ties or usages they now have, which may give them, or seem to give them, the form and bearing of a denomination. He maintains that we not only ought not to be, but that we are not and cannot be, a denomination. In his desire to establish this point, he breaks out in an indignant remonstrance against the notion, that we have any compactness, coherence, union, or substantive existence whatever, as a body. "Us! there is no us in any corporate sense, and it was never meant there should be; I pray God there never may be." If Mr. Putnam had paused over this sentence before proceeding to the next, he is too good a scholar not to have perceived, that by his use of the word "corporate" he had changed entirely the aspect of his argument. No one imagines that we have a *corporate* existence. No one wishes we should have, or believes we can have. But we may be a denomination, and a very efficient denomination, without this. Mr. Putnam, doubtless, meant to assert, as we have just intimated, that the Unitarian body is a mere name, a phantom, an illusion. "There is no us." And yet all through his sermon he talks about "we" and "us," just as if the words denoted a visible reality. Strike out these words from the discourse, and it will fall to pieces. "We are not a denomination, in the common and full meaning of that term," says he, (p. 4); and yet, "in point of influence in the organization of society, and in shaping the general course of thought, we are one of the strongest," (p. 34). Well, that is enough for our content. A denomination strong enough to have such influence is something real. Seriously, this playing false and loose with *we* and *us* should have been avoided by one [so cautious and upright as our friend.

But whether we are a denomination or not, Mr. Putnam contends that we ought not to be; and in conducting his argument selects three points of attack upon the mischievous error which he would overthrow. He condemns our ecclesiastical usages — such as we have; everybody knows they are few and simple enough. He rebukes our narrowness in refusing the Christian name to any one who claims it. And he chastises us for not entertaining a more just conception of the nature of Christian fellowship. We will follow him a little way in each of these three assaults.

Mr. Putnam pronounces a sentence of condemnation on almost all our ways of expressing religious sympathy. Ecclesiastical councils and ministerial associations receive his especial censure ; while the American Unitarian Association, which presents more of a sectarian aspect than anything else which we have among us, obtains, singularly enough, a reluctant permission to go on and accomplish its work. Now we really think Mr. Putnam is spending his strength upon windmills and moonshine, when he exerts himself so vigorously to rescue us from the evils which arise out of our inartificial and voluntary organizations. We doubt that there are such serious evils as he seems to descry, lurking in our path or lowering in our horizon. Some inconveniences and difficulties we experience now ; and we should be tried by a similar experience, if we had no councils and no associations and no meetings and no name, for inconvenience and difficulty belong to man's condition, and so long as the flesh detains and the world encompasses us, we must expect to meet them. But all the embarrassment which we have yet experienced, or are likely to encounter, can be easily borne, and need not drive us to relinquish the good old ways in which generations have walked, to their own comfort and for an example to their children. We like these councils and associations, which Congregationalism has accepted without any sacrifice of its fundamental principle. They are pleasant in remembrance, and in spite of the death-blow which has been aimed at them, we have many a pleasant vision in prospect. We should regret to see them laid aside, and least of all should we like that purely clerical management of ecclesiastical occasions, which would grow up under Mr. Putnam's plan of avoiding a representation of churches. It is this very feature, the union of churches, and not of ministers alone — the incorporation of lay influence with clerical — which is one of the safeguards of our religious liberty.

We feel some regret, that so much attention has been bestowed on these subsidiary portions of the discourse before us. We fear that it has thus been withdrawn from the main purpose of the writer, which, as we understand him, is to establish an individuality of action that would be fatal to union or cooperation. He does not, of course, so regard it, but he appears to us the advocate of the extremest

individualism. To use the cant word of the day, he is an ultraist of the first water. We cannot go along with him, and we are glad that neither his arguments, nor our own judgment founded on some observation and reflection, compel us to go along with him.

Passing on to his next battery, he discusses the question, what constitutes a right to the Christian name. We confess we have read some pages in this part of the discourse with astonishment. It is not only the reasoning to which we find ourselves unable to give an assent, but some of the statements assumed as the basis of this reasoning sound strange to our ears. Mr. Putnam declares it to be "our theory, that any one desiring to be of us may come into all ecclesiastical relations with us, unless we are obliged to deny him to be a Christian believer;" that, according to our theory, we should be bound to receive any such person, and "give him free course and furtherance in spreading his doctrines in our name!"—that is, give him free permission to enact the hypocrite. We can only say, that we never heard of such a theory before, and all the practice of our denomination has been directly in the face of such a construction. Have we ever maintained, has a single Unitarian journal, writer, or preacher ever affirmed, that any one may come into *all ecclesiastical relations* with us, provided only he be a Christian believer? Have we ever expected, or desired, that Roman Catholics, or Calvinists, or Methodists, (Father Taylor even,) should "come into *all ecclesiastical relations* with us?" Yet we have never felt ourselves obliged to doubt their Christian belief. The statement is palpably erroneous, unless its correctness be saved by the clause—"desiring to be of us;" and then it is reduced to a harmless common-place,—that whoever wishes to be a Unitarian has our leave to become one. Mr. Putnam asks, with all sobriety, "if any persons, ministers, or churches, holding those systems, wish to join our denomination, and so become identified with us, what should we do?" We would ask him in return, by what process of thought he is able to conceive of persons *holding those systems* becoming identified with us? The very fact that they are Romanists, or Calvinists, is an insuperable barrier. Bitter and sweet cannot become identical, while they retain their distinctive properties.

Again, Mr. Putnam, in speaking of the Rationalists, affirms, that "if we receive them and own them, and enter into all ecclesiastical relations with them, (unless we make such a protest as is equivalent to a decided exclusion of them,) we sanction their fatal subtractions, and give countenance and currency to" their "opinions." Without noticing the fallacy which recurs here, in the introduction of the word "all," we need only express our amazement at Mr. Putnam's giving the authority of his name to a principle against which we, as a body, have always remonstrated, from the days of the General Repository to the hour when this sentiment was promulgated from the Hollis Street pulpit. It is the point for which some of our hardest battles have been fought, that we are *not* responsible for the tenets of those with whom we may think proper to hold ecclesiastical relations, — that we do not sanction their subtractions, nor give countenance to their opinions. And now, one of our own number, a leader in our host, advances just the opposite doctrine! "*Tempora mutantur, et nos*" — no, *we* have not changed our ground. Mr. Putnam does not here speak for us. In another part of his discourse he says, that "there is a vague notion" that a minister declines official "fellowship with those whom he does not invite into his pulpit;" but in this instance, he perceives that the fact constitutes altogether too narrow a foundation for so broad an inference. Many circumstances besides difference of opinion may prevent ministerial exchanges. To say nothing of distance, clergymen holding substantially the same belief have been settled near one another for years, and never exchanged pulpits, yet, surely, without meaning to disown one another. On the other hand, ministers may exchange professional offices without making themselves responsible for each other's opinions.

The whole of Mr. Putnam's reasoning in the central portion of his discourse is vitiated by confounding the recognition of a person's right to the Christian name with his admission to our denominational sympathies. Just separate the two, and all which he has written between pages 15 and 27 loses its pertinency as an argument against our maintaining a sectarian character. "The theory of our denomination requires only the Christian name as a condition of membership." Where did Mr. Putnam find such a theory? It may be, that the Christian name, according

to us, is a sufficient ground for granting to another all the relations to which a Christian is entitled. But this is a very different thing from regarding him as a member of the denomination to which we belong. It does not follow from our allowing another to wear the Christian name, or freely admitting his right to it and all its privileges, that we embrace him within our theological sympathies. That so manifest an error should have been committed by an acute mind, surprises us greatly. All this discussion about the Christian name has nothing to do with the design of the sermon. Suppose we allow that there are Christians in every Church, and out of every Church, from Ignatius Loyola to Dr. Frederick Strauss; does that require us to include them all among members of our denomination? Is the alternative, a full participation in our religious sympathies or the dissolution of all our existing organizations? No man in his senses will take this ground.

There is much in the discussion respecting the Christian name to which we have adverted, that is justly and forcibly said, if viewed independently of the immediate purpose. Yet there are some remarks which, if we had room, we should be glad to notice. In regard to what is said respecting ecclesiastical, doctrinal, and critical tests, we probably should not differ from our brother; but when he speaks of a moral test, he goes beyond our ability of concurrence. The argument rests on the assumption that we cannot ascertain *character*, and therefore "have no right to exercise a moral adjudication." Surely, however, there are signs of the inward life on which we may rely. "Personal character wholly out of the reach of our public cognizance?" What! may we pronounce no one to be a bad man? When we read the histories of the French revolution, are we forbidden to form an opinion respecting the characters of the men whose atrocities make us almost doubt if they were not demons in human shape? Can we help doing it? Must we have allowed that the man who was on trial the other day in this city for murder, and the woman whose course of profligacy was closed by so frightful a death, were Christians, if they had chosen to take the name? How then shall we interpret our Lord's words, "By their fruits ye shall know them?" What does Mr. Putnam himself mean, when he requires of the Rationalists, that

“as a class they *manifest* the usual degree of sincerity?” Why undertake to judge of their word by their conduct? The truth is, we do and must impute character to men, and act accordingly; and though we may in some cases, or in many, form a false judgment, yet there is no purpose for which it is more proper that we should institute a judgment, than that we may “determine public, visible, ecclesiastical relations.”

The definition of the Christian name for which Mr. Putnam contends, makes it equivalent to a geographical designation. As a nation choose to be called Christian, rather than Pagan or Mahomedan, so an individual prefers being called a Christian to bearing some other name, or no name at all. Now if there were a general agreement so to understand the name—as really meaning nothing, we should only suffer in seeing one of the most significant and precious words in human speech stripped of its value. But, we thank God, this never can be brought about; and so long as the name must mean something, we rejoice that it is likely to have at least as positive a meaning as our denomination have usually given to it.

Mr. Putnam's remarks upon Christian fellowship would be valuable, if it were not for his dread of those “ecclesiastical bonds,” which, though they are represented by him as no more than spiders' webs, yet do sadly annoy him. With the Apostle he is ready to exclaim, “Would that all who hear me were such as I am, except these bonds.” Fellowship, however, is a good thing, and the word is a good word. And we cannot see that Mr. Putnam has shown that any of our modes of expressing Christian fellowship are hurtful and dangerous. As to the particular act which he specifies, the giving of the Right Hand at an ordination, we apprehend that most persons will say that it is a much more beautiful and expressive service when offered in the name of a number of ministers and delegates of churches, rejoicing in the union which they are called to solemnize, than if it were merely the symbol of individual feeling. Mr. Putnam declares that in future, if he should “have occasion to perform that part in an ordaining service, he will do it, not ecclesiastically, not in the name of the council or of any definite number of churches, but in his own behalf, and in behalf of all persons or churches, pres-

ent or absent, of the council or not of it, who may sympathize with him in the act." Happily, fallible man may review his own decisions, and we trust that our friend will find in the *sympathy* of the ordaining council the very justification of his appearance as their organ, which will relieve him of any embarrassment in the matter. That "all relations of an official and ecclesiastical kind, subsisting among clergymen, should cease," is a result, which the writer of this sentence would have seen to be, from the nature of the case, impossible, if his mind had not been beset by the "gorgons and chimeras dire" of denominational organization.

Mr. Putnam, in approaching the close of his discourse, replies to the anticipated objection, that we might lose a portion of our efficiency in resisting error or diffusing truth, if we should "dissolve every denominational bond, and disclaim all ecclesiastical relations except those existing within each separate church." We cannot perceive that he has weakened the force of this objection in the least. He has only shown, that individual effort may accomplish much, and that ecclesiastical censures or hierarchical engines are not sufficient to prevent the spread of either truth or error; and that truth has an immortal life, while error must decay and perish. But he has not shown, that individual effort need be hindered by cooperative exertion, nor that much more may not be effected by a union of hearts and hands in carrying on religious enterprises than by the separate labors of the most thoughtful or the most active. The tenacity with which he holds on by his theory of individualism, in the face of facts which seem to overthrow it, is pleasantly evinced in a note, in which he frankly acknowledges that the history of some of the prominent English sects is adverse to his position, but adds, that "we do not know all the circumstances, under which those denominations began or carried on their various measures," and a knowledge of which, he justly remarks, is important to a judgment in the case. We have been inclined to believe that the history of both the Methodist and the Unitarian denominations in England is sufficiently well known, to justify us in drawing pregnant conclusions from the success of the one and the slow increase of the other.

When, therefore, Mr. Putnam concludes his discourse with the counsel, that we should cast aside all "ecclesiastical relations or regulations, except such as pertain to our separate churches within themselves," as mere "external encumbrances," we feel that he has addressed to us an exhortation for which he had by no means provided a sufficient support in his previous remarks.

We suggested at the commencement of our remarks, that Mr. Putnam's position had not the attraction of novelty. It is one which has been held by many of our body from the first appearance of Unitarianism in this country. It belonged to the early days of the religious movement which in the course of time took this name, and the favor which it then enjoyed was the natural fruit of the reaction against opinions and usages which had acquired a hard and oppressive character. We have outgrown the influences of that time, and find the need of admitting large qualifications of this principle. Our tendency towards association is just as natural as was our fathers' towards an extreme in the other direction. Both these tendencies have always existed in our body, and according to the intellectual or moral constitution of those who belong to this body, they have inclined the one way or the other. We can understand how Mr. Putnam has been led to urge an abandonment of those simple means of preserving order and promoting unity which have prevailed among us. We have been plagued with some "ecclesiastical" difficulties, and he is anxious to avoid similar embarrassment in future. But the same or greater difficulties would arise, if we should adopt all that he proposes in place of our present methods. Every state must have its perplexities, and cases may occur under every system, or under no system, which would cause anxiety and trouble.

In our review of the ground over which Mr. Putnam has led us, we have been conscious of a continual struggle between our personal regard for the author of the discourse, and the conviction that so serious an assault upon what we value as just and useful should not pass without an attempt to counteract its effect. We shelter ourselves behind Mr. Putnam's own defence, in his preface; we have "felt it to be incumbent upon us, for the truth's sake, to do what we can," to restrain the influence of opinions

which we think unsound and of disastrous tendency. We cannot dismiss the subject without a few remarks of a more general character.

In the first place, we can discover no occasion for the blows which have been laid so thickly upon our ecclesiastical state. The practices which are pronounced so hurtful seem to us harmless and beneficial. We need not repeat what we have already said of the troubles which must now and then arise out of every condition of things. Let the principle advocated in this discourse prevail, — destroy what ecclesiastical unity we have, dissolve our associations, extinguish our denominational sympathies, and let every man work “in his own place and sphere, unencumbered” by these vexatious ties, — will there be an end of trouble? Will nothing again occur to perplex or distress us? Is individualism a principle of such mighty efficacy? We doubt it much.

Mr. Putnam says we shall at least secure consistency, shall relieve ourselves from a false position, shall be true to our principles. What there is in our principles inconsistent with such a measure of sectarian action as we have exhibited, it requires a keener sight than ours to discover. We have detected no disposition in our body to introduce a despotism over conscience, to impose tests in contravention of personal rights, or to build up a “church establishment.” We have freedom enough, latitude of opinion enough, private judgment enough. Pray let us have a little union, for love’s sake, and a little cooperation, for truth’s sake. We shall endanger no principle to which we have ever clung, by making our ecclesiastical relations somewhat more intimate than they are. There is no need of our becoming “less decidedly a denomination” than we are, in order to our securing “a high and true position.” We hold such a position now. Let us not be tempted to forsake it by any deceptive appearance encircling some other mountain-top.

According to the writer of this discourse we have nothing to bind us together as a denomination. In attempting to maintain a union of this kind we are not only going against our principles, but trying to make bricks without straw, playing the part of Egyptian task-masters with ourselves. “We have not the essential requisites of

a denominational existence." Incidentally, however, Mr. Putnam reveals to us the cement, and basis of our union. "Our strength," he says, "lies in the sympathy which our more free and rational, though somewhat indefinite, theology finds among intelligent and influential men." We want nothing more than this. It is this "free and rational theology" on which our denomination rests, and "sympathy" in such a theology which binds us together. This is strong enough for all our purposes. It has made us so much of a denomination as we are, and it may give us yet more of coherence and stability.

We are glad to believe, that it is too late in the day for the doctrine of this discourse to find general favor. It may please some minds and disturb others, but it will not unsettle our usages nor turn back the current of opinion which is setting so strongly in an opposite direction. For twenty years and more the principle of union has been unfolding its value to our eyes, and proving its efficacy in our hands. We are not prepared to give it up on account of some incidental or temporary inconvenience. Its advantages are a thousand-fold greater than the evils which are charged upon it. We shall not unlearn the lesson of a quarter of a century, and begin to spell our duty from a new alphabet. We cannot do it, if we would. Nature is stronger than argument and eloquence. It is argument and eloquence. And nature will compel us to seek that interchange of sympathies, which is the security of our denominational existence. They who think alike in this age of the world find one another out; and that men should acknowledge common convictions, in this period of enterprise and philanthropy, and not propose to each other a common action, is just one of those dreams of the closet, which, thank Heaven! can never be realized in actual life. A denomination we are, and a denomination we shall be, so long as there are any of us left. It is not very long since we were told that Unitarianism was at its mortal hour. It survived that prophecy; and was never more active or more efficient, never gave more signs of life and never supplied occasion for more cordial sympathies or more intelligent affinities, than now. Cooperation is one of the demands of the age, and we do well to fall in with it. The theory of individualism is utterly impracticable. If it could once have been

carried out, it is now opposed by all the tendencies of modern society. Acute observers and profound thinkers have alike acknowledged the power of association. It is a mighty instrument in the hands of evil; it may be used most efficiently in the service of truth and humanity.

We cannot give up our denominational existence, we cannot forsake our religious associations, we cannot resign our ecclesiastical usages to the past. We would multiply rather than diminish ties which impose no irksome restraint, would draw more close, rather than loosen, the bonds of our union. We remember those whose sympathy gave us strength in former days, and to whose efforts as we joined our own, we felt how much is gained by combination of wills and labors. We cannot forget their example. And least of all, can we be silent when we are called to adopt a principle, which would not only inscribe *folly* as the title of what we esteem the best part of our past history, but would compel us to relinquish our present agencies for the diffusion of Christian truth and moral influence. "What charitable agency, combined or individual, need be stopped," if we accept his doctrine, asks Mr. Putnam. With such a question before us from his pen, we almost doubt if we have not read his whole discourse backwards. What agency be stopped? Go and put this pamphlet into the hands of the officers of our associations for missionary purposes, and tell them to act upon its principles; and they will resign their places instantly. Our anniversary meetings must cease, our tract depositories be shut up, our social gatherings be branded with obloquy; and Christian zeal, instead of breathing the healthful air of sympathy, must live upon its own energy till that is exhausted, and then it may die, and no one mourn its departure.

We believe that a better history than this will cover the future. And so does our brother, whose discourse has called forth these remarks. But the principle which he has commended to the consideration of his Christian brethren would lead by a logical and inevitable process, if it should be adopted in practice, to these consequences. And therefore it is, — because we value our religious faith and wish to see it spread far and wide, — that we have not hesitated to express our dissent from the deliberately formed opinions of one whom we respect and love. E. S. G.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

A Discourse delivered in the West Church in Boston, August 3, 1845. By CHARLES LOWELL, one of the Ministers of the West Church. Cambridge: Metcalf & Co. 1845. 8vo. pp. 25.

A Discourse, delivered in Dublin, N. H., September 7, 1845. It being the Sabbath after the twenty-fifth Anniversary of his Ordination. By LEVI W. LEONARD, Pastor of the First Congregational Church and Society. Keene. 1846. 8vo. pp. 28.

The Church of the Disciples in Boston. A Sermon on the Principles and Methods of the Church of the Disciples. By the Pastor, JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE. Delivered Sunday morning and evening, Dec. 7, 1845. Boston: B. H. Greene. 1846. 8vo. pp. 36.

A Discourse, delivered in the Church of the First Congregational Society in Burlington, Sunday, December 21, 1845, the Anniversary of the Sabbath which preceded the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth. By OLIVER W. B. PEABODY. Burlington. 1846. 8vo. pp. 22.

The Kingdom of Heaven. A Sermon, preached at the Installation of Rev. John T. Sargent, as Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Somerville, Mass., Wednesday, February 18, 1846. By WILLIAM H. FURNESS, Pastor of the First Unitarian Church in Philadelphia. With the Charge, Right Hand of Fellowship, and Address to the People. Somerville. 1846. 8vo. pp. 48.

A Sermon preached at the Installation of Rev. A. M. Bridge, as Colleague Pastor of the First Congregational Church and Society in Bernardston, Mass., Feb. 18, 1846. By CHANDLER ROBBINS. Together with the Right Hand of Fellowship, and Address to the People. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1846. pp. 42.

Individual and Public Reform. A Discourse delivered on Fast Day, April 2, 1846, at the West Church in Boston. By C. A. BARTOL, Junior Pastor. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1846. 8vo. pp. 16.

The Sin and Danger of Self-Love, described in a Sermon preached at Plymouth, in New England, 1621. By ROBERT CUSHMAN. London: Printed. Plymouth: [Massachusetts] Re-printed by Nathaniel Coverly, 1785. Boston: Published by Rebecca Wiswell, 1846. 12mo. pp. 35.

The Connection between Geography and History: A Lecture delivered before the American Institute of Instruction, at

- Hartford, Conn., August, 1845.* By GEORGE S. HILLARD. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1846. 12mo. pp. 43.
- Lecture on the Necessity of Physiology, delivered before the American Institute of Instruction, at Hartford, August 22, 1845.* By EDWARD JARVIS, M. D., of Dorchester, Mass. Boston: W. D. Ticknor & Co. 1845. 12mo. pp. 55.
- An Address at the Opening of the Town Hall, in Brookline, on Tuesday, 14 October, 1845.* By JOHN PIERCE, D. D., Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Brookline. Boston. 1846. 8vo. pp. 52.
- An Address on Temperance, delivered in the Town-Hall, Brighton, Sunday Evening, Dec. 21, 1845.* By FREDERIC A. WHITNEY, Minister of the First Church. Boston: B. H. Greene. 1846. 8vo. pp. 22.
- An Address on Pauperism, delivered before the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, in the Central Church, Winter Street, on Sunday Evening, February 22, 1846.* By JOHN T. SARGENT, Pastor of the First Congregational Society in Somerville. Boston: B. H. Greene. 1846. 8vo. pp. 40.
- Remarks on a Letter from the Hollis Street Society to their Unitarian Brethren, with the Documents relating to the recent call of a Minister by that Society.* Boston. 1846. 8vo. pp. 22.
- Remarks on Europe, relating to Education, Peace and Labor; and their Reference to the United States.* New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1846. 8vo. pp. 42.
- Sketches of a few Distinguished Men of Newbury and Newburyport.* By S. SWETT. No. 1, Capt. Moses Brown, of the United States Navy. Boston. 1846. 12mo. pp. 23.
- The Panidèa; or, an Omnipresent Reason considered as the Creative and Sustaining Logos.* By THEOPTES. Boston: T. H. Webb & Co. 1846. 8vo. pp. 176.
- A Condensed Anti-Slavery Bible Argument.* By a CITIZEN OF VIRGINIA. New York. 1845. 8vo. pp. 91.

Dr. Lowell's Discourse was preached at the expiration of forty years from the commencement of his ministry in the West church, the small wooden building, in which he began to preach, standing almost alone in the fields, (though on the site of the present edifice,) in a part of the city then called "New Boston." The author speaks as to "familiar friends," in the tone of sincerity and affectionate confidence and with the directness which have uniformly marked his pulpit performances. He states the principles which have governed him in the conduct of his long ministry, leaving historical details, or a more full exposition of his views and of his position in respect to religious parties, to a very interesting appendix. — Mr. Leonard's Dis-

course, delivered at the expiration of a quarter of a century from the time of his ordination, contains a brief review of his ministry, with such statistics as usually enter into productions of this kind. His lot has been cast in a retired parish, in a town with a "diminishing population" in consequence of emigration, yet the discourse bears witness, that he has labored diligently, and, we should say, successfully; his ministry has been peaceful, and he may yet look forward to many years of usefulness. An appendix contains an account of the first settlers of Dublin, its population at different periods, with other historical facts of interest.—Mr. Clarke's Sermon is a valuable document, and will be read with interest not only by the members of the "Church of the Disciples" themselves, but by multitudes of others who may wish to know something of their past history, their principle of association, mode of worship, leading ideas, "methods and external arrangements." On all these subjects the reader will find in the pamphlet the desired information presented in a simple and clear style.—Mr. Peabody's subject is the obligation we owe to the Pilgrim fathers of New England, a theme which is in little danger of being worn out, and on which he has constructed a Discourse distinguished for just sentiment and discriminating remark, blending in due proportion narrative and reflection in a style marked by great purity, clearness, and simplicity.—Mr. Furness's Installation Sermon is distinguished by the peculiar spirituality of views and glowing style, which we are accustomed to look for in all that comes from his pen. Jesus, he says, "lived in a very different world from ours, but still a present world," and "in our best moments, we all catch glimpses of the world of Christ." We should endeavor to rise to it in our daily life, thus entering the kingdom of heaven; the "way" into which forms the subject of the discourse, and naturally leads the writer to speak of the miracles of Christ and their significance according to his views of them, with which the public is already familiar. The other performances printed along with the sermon have a reference more or less direct to the times, and are marked by the usual characteristics of their authors.—The nature and foundation of that union, which Christ would have exist among his followers, the causes which have hitherto impeded its growth, the way in which it is to be sought, and present encouraging symptoms, especially in the reforms which, amid great differences of opinion, have united so many hearts in beautiful and harmonious action, are among the topics which the reader will find treated in Mr. Robbins's Sermon, with his usual felicity of style and illustration, and the Right Hand and Address well harmonize with it.—The object of Mr. Bartol's Discourse is to show that "individual reform alone is public reform;" individual action, he thinks, in

the main preferable to the action of societies ; at least the latter is insufficient without the former. He instances particularly the slavery, peace, and temperance reforms, on which, and the measures used in promoting them, he expresses his thoughts with freedom and independence. — Mr. Cushman's is a lay Sermon, preached at Plymouth during the first year of the settlement, and now printed for the fourth time. The "Epistle Dedicatory" bearing date "Plymouth, December 12, 1621," is the best part of the original publication, though the Sermon, from the time and place of its delivery, is worth reading as matter of curiosity. The edition of 1685 contains an appendix, giving some account of the author, and written by Judge Davis, who suffered an error to creep into it, as he tells the public in his edition of Morton's Memorial, p. 375. The error, that of attributing to the original Colonists a community of property, is not of much importance, yet it is to be regretted, since the work was to be reprinted, that an opportunity had not been afforded the venerable writer of correcting it.

The influence of physical causes on national character and civilization, and on the intellectual and moral development of the race, has been always recognized, but we have never met with it so convincingly and eloquently set forth and illustrated as in Mr. Hillard's Address on the "Connexion of Geography with History," which deserves to be carefully studied, especially by teachers, and may be read with pleasure and profit by all. Its pure and elevated moral tone adds to its value and charms. — Dr. Jarvis strenuously urges the study of physiology in our common schools, and though, as he informs the public, portions of his Lecture appeared in an article contributed by him to the "July" [read September] number of the Examiner, 1843, this circumstance will not, we suppose, as regards most of its readers, deprive it of the interest of novelty. — Dr. Pierce, as he informs us in his present Address, has already delivered three Historical Discourses relating to the small town of Brookline, yet he has now been able to glean materials enough to fill a pamphlet of fifty-two pages. Many of his facts and statistics, as might be supposed, are minute. This is one excellence of the Address viewed as a local historical document. The author expresses his intention, should his life be spared a year longer, to deliver another discourse, at the completion of half a century from the time of his ordination, in which he will "gather up the fragments, that nothing be lost." There is not probably another town in the commonwealth, or in the United States, the history of which will have been so minutely and faithfully written. — Mr. Whitney's Address contains a strong appeal in favor of total abstinence, urges the inefficacy of laws without "moral and religious principle," and insists on the importance of a "living

public opinion" and strict practice as the only ground on which the friends of reform can place any secure hope. — There is one great cause of pauperism, Mr. Sargent thinks, which includes all the rest, and that is, the "disproportionate influence allowed to wealth among us," manifested in various forms of extravagance and selfishness; and the remedy, therefore, he says, must be sought in a reform at home, in a more Christian feeling, more intimate sympathy, and more simple and frugal habits, — topics which, along with some others, are treated with great seriousness, and with much force both of thought and expression. — The Hollis Street Pamphlet is a continuation of the controversy to which allusion was made in our Notices contained in the last number. It is issued by the minority, and offers some very free strictures and comments on the "Letter" referred to in its title. — The "Remarks on Europe," as we are informed by an advertisement to the pamphlet, is by Rev. Charles Brooks, and is a reprint from the *Knickerbocker* of 1843. The pamphlet is well worth reading. Being written abroad (at Rome) by one who had possessed ample means of observation as well as reading, and who is accustomed to use well his opportunities, its statements in regard to European society must be entitled to confidence, and the application of his remarks to America adds to their value and interest. — Mr. Swett's project for publishing "Sketches of a few distinguished men of Newbury and Newburyport" will afford him an opportunity of rescuing from oblivion many facts and biographical traits, interesting alike to the general reader and the antiquary. His account of Capt. Moses Brown, who is the subject of the first Sketch, forms a pleasing and useful little narrative of the life of a man whose memory is worth preserving. — We have not found time to read the "*Panidèa*" with sufficient attention to comprehend it. Among the titles of its chapters are, "The All resolved into its subjective unity, in the Logos, or Absolute Reason," — "The subjective unity of the Logos, or Absolute Reason, resolved into its objective all, sensuous and supersensuous," — "Spheres sensuous and supersensuous — their correspondence and difference," — "The Me, or Homo Individualis," — "The Theanthropoid, or Homo Universalis;" — rather formidable titles, but truth we are told, "lies in a well." — The calm and liberal spirit in which the "Bible Argument" is conducted by a "Citizen of Virginia," added to the general soundness of his reasoning and expositions, should secure for it a careful and impartial reading.

We take advantage of the space which remains to us on this page, to suggest the propriety of a clergyman's always indicating his parochial relation on the title-page of a sermon preached by him in any other than his own pulpit. The naked name of the individual sometimes fails to satisfy the curiosity of readers, and seems to betoken a consciousness of celebrity.

INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Ecclesiastical Record.—We grieve to learn, that Rev. Mr. Sewall of Scituate has been compelled, by a return of the malady which has before interrupted his professional labors, to ask a dismissal from his people.—Also, that Rev. Mr. Lambert of East Cambridge has resigned his ministry on account of ill health.—On the other hand it is a pleasant circumstance to record, that Rev. Mr. Weiss, having in a measure recovered his health, has been induced by the invitation of the society at Watertown to resume the ministry among them, which he relinquished a few months since.

An important decision has been made by the Proprietors of the Purchase Street church in this city. Finding that in consequence of the changes which have recently taken place in that part of the city, from the increase of business and the removal of families to a more quiet neighborhood, their meetinghouse was inconveniently distant from a large number of the congregation, they resolved to sell their present edifice, and erect one on another spot. An arrangement has been made with the subscribers to the fund for the erection of a house of worship on Harrison Avenue, by which their subscription has been transferred to the Purchase Street society. A lot of ground, most favorably situated, has been bought, at the corner of Harrison Avenue and Beach Street, on which a chaste and commodious house will be erected this summer. We understand that the purpose of establishing a new society at the southerly part of the city, for which an act of incorporation had been obtained, has not been relinquished, but is meant to be carried into effect at some future time.—The "Church of the Saviour" have completed their Chapel or Vestry, a very beautiful little building, capable of accommodating three hundred worshippers, where they will hold their religious services during the erection of their meetinghouse, the foundation of which is already laid.—The Broadway society at South Boston have been obliged, by the increase of their numbers, to remove to a larger hall, in which they will in future conduct their worship.—The First Congregational Parish in Lexington are remodelling their house of worship, which was built in 1794, and will now be made more agreeable to modern taste in its interior arrangements.—The First Parish in Framingham have voted to build a new meetinghouse, and will commence the work immediately.—The congregation at Troy, N. Y. contemplate an enlargement of their house.

Among the other denominations in our city we also notice changes in the ministerial relation.—Rev. Mr. Chapin, late of Charlestown, has become associate minister (with Rev. Mr. Ballou) of the Second Universalist society.—Rev. Mr. Skinner, late pastor of the Fifth Universalist church, has accepted an invitation to take charge of a congregation in the city of New York.—Rev. Mr. Banvard, late of Salem, has been installed over the Harrison Avenue Baptist church,

formerly under the care of Rev. Mr. Turnbull.—Rev. Mr. Watson, assistant minister of Trinity church, has resigned his place. A serious difference has arisen between Bishop Eastburn and the "Church of the Advent," which is said to affect his relations with other churches in his diocese. The Bishop deprecates the introduction of Romish usages, and rebukes the Puseyite tendencies of some of those over whom he has the oversight. Their defence has shown any thing but a willingness to succumb to Episcopal authority. We like their independence as much as we dislike their forms.

Benevolent Fraternity of Churches.—The anniversary of this important institution was celebrated on the evening of Fast day, April 2, 1846. Religious services were attended in the Federal Street church. After prayer by Rev. Mr. Smith of New North church, a discourse was delivered by Rev. Mr. Peabody of the King's Chapel, from Matthew xiii. 27, 28,—on the permanent causes of pauperism and the proper remedies. At the meeting for the organization of the new Board held as usual on the evening of the second Sunday after Fast—an interval which gives time for the choice of delegates in the several Branches—Henry B. Rogers Esq. was chosen *President*; Rev. Robert C. Waterston, *Secretary*; Mr. Thomas Tarbell, *Treasurer*; Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop, and Mr. Benjamin Seaver, the other members of the Executive Committee. The semiannual Reports of the ministers-at-large were presented, and contained evidence not only of their diligence and devotedness, but of the great and sad need there is of their labors in this city. The subject of licentiousness had received particular attention from one of the ministers, whose Report offered many most painful details. We trust that some means will be found to stay the increase of this destructive vice. It is a difficult subject to discuss, and yet more difficult to deal with practically; but no false delicacy should prevent our considering what may be done to save our city and our homes from a moral corruption, a thousand times worse than the most fearful of physical diseases.

The special purpose of the Fraternity of Churches is the support of the Ministry-at-large in this city. The Pitts Street and Suffolk Street chapels are under their charge; the former being served by Rev. Dr. Bigelow, the latter by Rev. Mr. Cruft. Rev. Mr. Burton is also employed in this Ministry, with less of local restriction than his associates; and it is the hope of those who are entrusted with the financial affairs of the Fraternity, that they shall soon be able to call a fourth laborer into this work. It has been blessed in its results, and may be indefinitely extended.

Levee for the Meadville Theological School.—The success of the Theological School established but little more than a year ago at Meadville, Penn., with the wants of the young men who resort there for instruction, led several ladies in Boston to inquire if they could not do something to increase the resources of the institution. The purpose which they entertained soon spread beyond the "Church of the Disciples," to which the persons with whom it originated belonged, and other ladies expressed their desire to cooperate in carrying it into effect. The plan grew almost insensibly, till it was thought best to apply to the city government for the use of Faneuil Hall,

which was granted. It was proposed to hold a meeting on some evening, to which admittance should be obtained by tickets sold at a low price, while the principal attraction should consist of addresses by different gentlemen. This plan was carried out, on the ninth of April. The arrangements were very simple. A few tables were placed in the hall, at which refreshments were sold, and other articles, contributed by friends of the project; vocal music was introduced between the speeches; and addresses were made by Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, who presided, Rev. J. F. Clarke, Rev. Mr. Edmonds of the "Christian" denomination, Rev. E. Peabody, Rev. Mr. Taylor of the Methodist Connexion, Rev. R. C. Waterston, and Rev. E. S. Gannett. The hall was opened at 5 o'clock P. M., the speaking began at 7 o'clock and ended at 10 o'clock, when the exercises were closed by singing the doxology. The number of tickets sold showed that nearly two thousand persons were present in the course of the evening. The articles which remained on the tables unsold, were offered for sale at a private dwelling on a subsequent day. The amount of receipts, after deducting all expenses, we learn, was \$1463,50, which will be sent "to the Faculty of the Meadville School to be used for the benefit of the Institution, as they may judge most necessary." Besides this amount in money, various useful articles which have been procured will be sent for the benefit of the students.

Universalist Convention. — We have wished for room in several of our past numbers, to notice the meeting of the U. S. Convention of Universalists, which was held in this city the last autumn. In reading the very full report of its proceedings given in the *Trumpet*, we were very much impressed with the interest which must have belonged to the occasion. An earnest and harmonious spirit pervaded all the exercises. An important step was taken towards a more stringent organization of the denomination, and certain suggestions were "recommended to the several Conventions, Associations, and Societies," which, we confess, seem to us to embrace a system of ecclesiastical order too much resembling the arrangements of the Presbyterian church. At the close of the meeting a Committee was appointed to prepare a Protest against American Slavery, to be presented to every Universalist clergyman for his signature; which has since been published, with over three hundred names affixed to it. Instead of any further remarks of our own, we are glad to avail ourselves of the language of our friend, the editor of the *Montreal Bible Christian*.

"During the last month (September) a General Convention of the Universalists of the United States met in Boston. It was the largest meeting of the kind ever held by them. There were more than two hundred clergymen, besides the lay delegates, present on the occasion. The number of Universalists in Boston during the two days of the Convention proper, is said to have exceeded ten thousand. The nature of the topics discussed was highly interesting and important—calculated to elevate the character and augment the usefulness of the denomination generally. The proceedings of the Convention were marked with earnestness, harmony, and charity. A very eloquent discourse was delivered in the School Street church, by the Rev. E. H. Chapin, and repeated by request in the Warren Street church. In this discourse the preacher urged the necessity of an educated ministry. A considerable share of the discussions of the body was connected with education; and there was

also an acknowledged necessity for a more perfect organization of churches and societies, which received a good deal of attention. So great were the numbers in attendance, that meetings were held in three or four churches at the same time. The occasion was one of great congratulation among the members of the denomination, not only because of the numerous attendance, but also on account of the business transacted and the spirit which prevailed. The official document states 'it was the largest and happiest meeting of their General Convention.' "

Ordinations and Installations. — Rev. DAVID FOSDICK, who recently resigned his ministry at Sterling, was installed as minister of the Hollis Street Society in Boston, Mass., March 3, 1846. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Putnam of Roxbury, from Isaiah xxi. 11; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship was given by Rev. Mr. Robbins of Boston; the Charge, by Rev. Dr. Frothingham of Boston; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Gannett of Boston; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Huntington of Boston, and Lincoln of Fitchburg.

Rev. RUFUS PUTNAM CUTLER, a graduate of Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained as Pastor of the Second Unitarian Church and Society in PORTLAND, Me., March 18, 1846. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Peabody of Boston, from Ephesians iv. 3; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Nichols of Portland; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Bartol of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Pierpont of Lynn; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Peabody of Portsmouth, N. H.; and the other services by Rev. Messrs. Cruft of Boston, Nichols of Saco, Me., and Parkman of Dover, N. H.

Rev. MARK A. H. NILES, formerly a Trinitarian Congregational minister in Marblehead, was installed over the Second Unitarian Society in LOWELL, Mass., April 8, 1846. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Peabody of Boston, from John xxii. 20, 21; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Mr. Bartlett of Marblehead; the Right Hand of Fellowship was given by Rev. Mr. Miles of Lowell; the Address to the Society, by Rev. Mr. Waterston of Boston; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Bulfinch of Nashua, N. H., Muzzey of Cambridge, and Whitman of Lexington.

Rev. WILLIAM GUSTAVUS BABCOCK, a graduate of the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained as an Evangelist, in PROVIDENCE, R. I., (with reference to his charge of the ministry-at-large, in that place,) April 8, 1846. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, from Revelation xx. 17; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Frothingham of Boston; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Gray of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Ware of Fall River; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Osgood of Providence, and Barnard of Boston.

Rev. JOHN NELSON BELLOW, of Walpole, N. H., was ordained as Minister of the First Parish in FRAMINGHAM, Mass., April 15, 1846. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Bellows of New York, from 1 John i. 1 and 3; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Ripley of Lincoln; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Muzzey of Cambridge; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Lothrop of Boston; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Robbins of Boston; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Brigham of Taunton, Hill of Waltham, and Lippitt of Boston.

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CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

N^o. CXXXIII.
FOURTH SERIES—No. XIII.
JANUARY, 1846.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM CROSBY.

NEW YORK: C. S. FRANCIS & CO.

LONDON: JOHN CHAPMAN, 131 NEWGATE STREET.

1846.

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

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
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ANDREWS, PRENTISS & STUDLEY, Printers, 11 Devonshire Street.

C. Peterson Esq

THE
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AND
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N^o. CXXXIV.

FOURTH SERIES—No. XIV.

MARCH, 1846.

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LONDON: JOHN CHAPMAN, 121 NEWGATE STREET.

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
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MAY, 1846.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM CROSBY.

NEW YORK: C. S. FRANCIS & CO.

LONDON: CHAPMAN, BROTHERS, 121 NEWGATE STREET

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
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
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